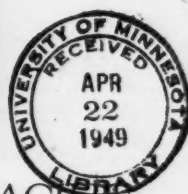


# EASTERN WORLD



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## China or Communism ?

by

O. M. GREEN

## Dutch Blind Alley in Indonesia

by

HAROLD R. ISAACS

## Jews in the East

by

H. G. REISSNER

## The Spirit of Tibetan Culture

by

LI AN-CHE

ONE SHILLING AND SIXPENCE



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### ECONOMIC NOTES

# EASTERN WORLD

Believing in the freedom of the press, this journal represents a forum where articles containing many different, and often controversial, opinions are being published. They do not necessarily express the views or policy of the paper.

## BANDITS DISAPPOINTED IN MALAYA

Captured documents reveal the acute disappointment amongst terrorist leaders in Malaya. They complain about lack of co-operation of the masses and are obviously suffering from a shortage of arms. There is no indication that they have abandoned their aim of overthrowing British rule and of creating a Communist republic in Malaya, but effective government measures have compelled them to concentrate their forces deeper in the jungle which will probably result in early large-scale operation of troops in the more inaccessible parts of the peninsula.

## THE CHAOS IN BURMA

Amongst the many unhappy factors in the present involved scene in Burma, the most disastrous is the dependence of other countries on Burma's rice exports. Though encouraging estimates have been issued by the Burmese Government (see p. 30) it is doubtful whether they will be in a position to deliver anything like the expected quantities. Not only that the official government has little, if any administrative powers outside Rangoon, it also lacks the necessary money to transport and handle the rice crop. The only mitigating factor is that whoever is in control of the cultivated fields will no doubt be anxious to utilise their products and it is possible that in spite of political animosity some rice may reach the ports provided cash payments are made for the paddy crops. For this reason, the Burmese Govern-

ment have approached the British Government for a loan of £1,500,000 or for their good offices which would enable them to obtain short-term loans from British and Indian banks. It is understandable that Britain sought the co-operation of the other Commonwealth countries concerned with not only Burma's rice but with the inherent dangers of her chaotic political conditions, before she was willing to act. It is not surprising either that the Delhi conference doubted Burma's ability to put any loans to good use politically or economically. With a demoralised regular army, the country in the hands of insurgent Karens and Communist groups, an appalling lack of trained and experienced administrators, the only possible course left to Rangoon is to accept the offer of advice by the Delhi conference before it is too late. The present Burmese Government is not in a position to ignore a friendly hand stretched out with the best of intentions.

## COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

The forthcoming meeting of Commonwealth Premiers in London at the end of this month will be one of the most important in the history of the Commonwealth. It will have to face complicated problems and decisions will have to be made which, at the first glance, will look to many like a dangerous split in this unparalleled conglomeration of nations. Yet, whatever machinery will be devised to satisfy the wishes of India to become a sovereign republic while remaining in close association with the other Commonwealth countries, there is no danger that any established relationship will be impaired. The Commonwealth is, nowadays more than ever, a political and economic necessity, an ever-increasing alternative to the accumulating forces of opposing powers which threaten to plunge the world into war again. The combined potentialities of the Commonwealth, comprising East and West alike, thus form a strong unit in world politics which easily may be called upon to decide, or in any case strongly influence, international events. Yet the only link between these countries up to now has not been a rigid machinery

for administering common interests, but their mutual allegiance to the Crown. The real problem now is to find another link which would be equally effective, without encroaching upon the susceptibilities of India but at the same time maintaining means by which the British connection, desired by some of the Dominions, especially Australia, can be maintained. The British Government has shown great understanding and negotiating skill in this matter, and has been preparing a number of proposals which may be acceptable to all while offending none. Lord Listowel, Mr. Patrick Gordon-Walker and other ministers have been visiting the Dominions to sound opinion and to prepare for greater mutual understanding at the conference. While it is thought impossible to deter India from her wish to become a republic as this decision is based upon her leaders' irrevocable pledges to their peoples, it is being realised that a new approach to the problem may offer a basis for Commonwealth membership which might induce Eire and even Burma to reconsider their connections with it. The solution is expected to consist of a complete reorganisation of the Commonwealth structure, and the April conference will probably discuss the creation of three circles inside the Commonwealth: one to be formed by the United Kingdom, with the King as its head, the second consisting of the Dominions also recognising the Crown, and the third of republican units which would not look upon the King as their titular head but would otherwise either be full members of the Commonwealth or be bound to it by regional agreements. Whether any of these speculations will, in fact, be the basis of discussions, cannot be accepted as certain at the moment of writing. It is clear, however, that a drastic reorganisation of the Commonwealth machinery will have to be agreed upon in order to make it a more closely-knit world power which would accord concrete advantages to all its members in the strategic, economic and cultural fields. It is also clear that every statesman of the Commonwealth realises that it would be a retrograde step to destroy this tremendous pool of goodwill and power with its infinite possibilities for the maintenance of peace.

# JEWS IN THE EAST

by H. G. Reissner

THE function of the Jews, within the framework of Occidental civilisation has been twofold: spiritually they have been a leaven of monotheistic religion and keen promoters of applied and pure science. Economically they have, on the whole, been confined to activities which were disliked by society for either ethical reasons (such as loans, pawn shops) or on account of the venture involved (export, import, seasonal clothing trades) or because they were rated too low (utilisation of second hand goods and scrap). Both the spiritual and economic aspects of Jewish functions in the West have, from time to time, met with violent bursts of hatred and persecution.

In the Islamic Near East the status of the Jews, until recently, was not too much different from that enjoyed in the Christian West. Spiritually they were treated as a "people of the book" and socially they were "protected subjects" liable to certain occupational restrictions and additional tax burdens which, however, summed up to a tolerable *modus vivendi*. Relations became strained only under the impact of Zionist politics, the Arabs contending that they must not be held solely responsible for the solution of Europe's D.P. problems. Nevertheless, the State of Israel has materialised and is increasingly absorbing Jewish refugees from Central Europe and various Islamic countries.

Jewish existence in the Far East cannot boast of particular spiritual achievements. On the contrary: ethical and ritual traditions became, as time went by, integrated with those of the countries of adoption in an increasing degree. Having been drawn to the East in foreign trade ventures originally, the Jews were gradually absorbed into the general economic patterns of their new domiciles. Conversely, their annals are void of anti-semitic reaction (except for a short interval of alien interference, under the auspices of the Portuguese Inquisition). But this negative feature in itself is, perhaps, worth recording at a time such as the present when some chapters of history are drawing to a close while new ones are being opened up.

Jews from the West have approached the Far East by land and sea. Overland, they joined caravans which set out from Persia to barter Roman gold and silver for Chinese silk. A chain of settlements was established along the Yellow River valley in the days of the Han dynasty, about the end of the reign of Emperor Ming-ti (58 to 75 A.D.). Another approach took place at approximately the same time; but it chose the high seas, taking advantage of the discovery of the Monsoon wind phenomenon which made the crossing of the Arabian Sea a matter of nautical routine. The first colony cast roots at a spot some twenty miles to the north of Cochin on the Malabar Coast of India.

Jews were well established in Ceylon at least from the ninth century A.D. Proceeding farther, they reached

South-Eastern China during the reign of the Sung dynasty (960-1126 A.D.). Marco Polo recorded their presence in the days of the "Grand Khan." However, relations between China and the rest of the world ceased with the overthrow of the Mongols by the Ming dynasty in 1368. Cut off from previous contacts with both Persia and India, the Chinese Jews adopted more and more the customs and thoughts of their neighbours. They shaved their foreheads and wore queues. The womenfolk crippled their feet in infancy. Ancestral worship was introduced in their synagogues. When Christian missionaries were readmitted into China in the 17th century, they found remnants of Jewish communities. Some individuals who recalled their Jewish origin were identifiable at Kaifung-Fu in the Yellow River and Shanghai as late as the beginning of the 20th century.

The Jews of the Malabar Coast never lost complete touch with the West. Benjamin of Tudela who travelled in the East a hundred years prior to Marco Polo, refers to them. Circumstances permitting, they would foster other groups of co-religionists such as those in Ceylon and China. Credit goes to an 18th century Cochin Jew for the rediscovery of another Jewish splinter, the Bene Israel who had lived in seclusion in the midst of some native states of the Konkan Coast, south of Bombay, for more than a thousand years. Later on, the Bene Israel distinguished themselves, in the service of the East India Company, as professional soldiers, both in India and abroad (Afghanistan, Abyssinia and Aden). After the Mutiny during which they remained faithful to their British commanding officers, they switched increasingly to careers in public administration, health, railways, post and telegraphs, again both at home and abroad (Burma and Aden). The present generation threw in their lot with the Congress party in its struggle for India's political independence.

Conspicuous in the wake of the East India Company's expansion were also groups of European and Baghdadi Jewish merchants. Jewish diamond dealers from Leghorn in Italy actively participated in the inauguration of the Corporation of Madras (1688) when three out of nine civilian aldermen were recruited from the ranks of the former. Baghdadi Jews had had dealings with the Moghul Court even prior to the establishment of the Company's Factory at Surat on the west coast of India. They flocked to Bombay when the Factory was transferred thence in the 18th century. It was there that the Sassoons consolidated a reputation as the "Rothschilds of the East." Much of their commercial success was derived from operations in the Far East since the middle of the 19th century, with subsidiaries laid out at Rangoon, Singapore, Hong-kong and Shanghai. While a considerable portion of previously accumulated wealth is left to-day both in the shape of personal liquid holdings and charity trusts, Sassoon business activities as such were discontinued partly



under the impact of the late war in South-East Asia, partly through the voluntary sale of their chain of textile mills in India to Hindu capitalists.

In the recent inter-war period two groups of European Jewish refugees have sought temporary shelter in the Pacific area, one descending from Russia via Manchuria, after the Russian Revolution of 1917, the other from Germany and Central Europe when Hitler came to power in 1933, both converging on Shanghai. Shanghai then occupied a unique status in the world, in that no visas were required to go ashore at that port. When the wave was at its height, more than 20,000 Jewish refugees were housed in Shanghai, all of whom have now been repatriated or resettled in Israel, U.S.A., South America and Australia. The recent evacuation of the last batch from Shanghai coincides with the vote of the Chinese representative to the U.N. Security Council in favour of Israel's admission as a member of the United Nations.

What is left of earlier Jewish settlements throughout the East now comprises some 22,000 Jewish citizens of the new Dominion of India, concentrated mainly in and around Bombay, Calcutta and Cochin. This includes the Jews from Pakistan who left for India after minor disorders in Peshawar and Karachi meant to demonstrate Islamic

solidarity in the face of "aggressive" political Zionism in far-off Palestine. Incidentally, the Government of India has up to now withheld *de facto* or *de jure* recognition of Israel. Israeli public opinion and government are rightly keen on establishing relations with India. A Jewish delegation from Palestine attended the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi in March-April, 1947; members stressed the fact that Jews were another Asian nation rejected by the West and who, while returning to the cradle of their origin, were anxious to co-operate peacefully with all the other nations of the East.

The similarities in applying "partition" as the solution of the Indian as well as the Palestinian problems have frequently been emphasised in discussions preceding the actual execution of either scheme. Subsequent events in both instances have gone a long way towards supporting the expectation that a *modus vivendi* can be worked out between interdependent, yet politically sovereign neighbours. Thinking in larger terms of regional co-operation, the Israelis will be well advised to mind the fact that, in their past dealings in and with the Far East, they have experienced nothing but hospitality, tolerance and kindness. A long term programme of cultural and economic inter-exchange and mutual help on an inter-state basis should pay rich dividends to all concerned.

## THE SPIRIT OF TIBETAN CULTURE

by Li An-che

THE spirit of Tibetan culture can be best envisaged in what is embodied in tradition and what is to emerge through closer contact with modern science. An understanding of this will enhance Tibetan contribution to non-Tibetan cultures, even though from the common sense point of view it seems to be rather far-fetched. But the far-fetchedness comes from our ignorance. Our common sense does not give much room to an appreciation of Tibetan culture.

Traditionally, then, Buddhism is all-important in Tibetan life. Unfortunately the popular terms of "Lamaism" gives one the impression that it is not Buddhism at all or to some it is the debased form of Buddhism. As a matter of fact, however, Tibetan Buddhism is only the later form of Buddhism in India in contrast to its primitive form immediately after the Buddha. This later form is characterised by its esoteric elements. It is esoteric in the sense that it is preserved for the chosen few who are properly initiated, in the same way that Jesus would speak in parables to the public and in plain words only to his disciples. Paradoxical as it may seem, esoteric Buddhism is reserved for those who have taken the vow to make the welfare of others their sole concern. In this sense only are they the initiated or the chosen, namely those who have adopted the Greater Vehicle, (Mahayana) in contrast to the Lesser Vehicle, characteristic of primitive Buddhism. Unlike the ordinary

"puritanical" Buddhists, the Lamas have a theory that whatever exists should not be discarded or ignored but should be regarded as the necessary material to work with, in order to attain the perfect stage of enlightenment. In a world of individualism and self-righteousness, is not this philosophy a wholesome antidote?

Apart from the Lamas, every phase of Tibetan life is permeated with deep religious feelings. The Tibetans agree with outside criticism that their standard of living is low. But at the same time they will tell you, "Man does not live by bread alone." Their conception of the value of human life is so high that they cannot bear the idea of capital punishment. To kill one person is bad enough. Why kill another as a form of retribution? Thus the Tibetan way is to exact payment of a "life-price." In their opinion, nothing unnecessary for spiritual development is to be enjoyed. They take food to cure hunger, as any medicine is taken to cure an illness. But in spite of apparent ill-nourishment, the Tibetans are very healthy and much stronger than the Chinese who have developed a genuine culinary art. Furthermore, because of their devotional life, it is not uncommon for the Tibetans to give up all their wealth to the monastery and to start all over again, and this they may do several times in one life span. It would be wrong to picture the Tibetan as a pathetic ascetic, for he is not. Every Tibetan, young or old, rich or poor, man or woman, layman or priest, is

happy and gay either in work or in idleness. Thus, the Tibetan emphasis on life and idealism as opposed to materialism is something to balance the over-emphasis of western civilisation on physical power.

As an institution, Tibetan Buddhism is embodied in its lamaseries. A lamasery has many functions, religious, educational, political, social and economic. The most distinctive ones are religious, educational and political, the latter having the combined advantages of aristocracy and democracy or stability and innovation.

A lamasery may either rule the people directly or indirectly through its co-operation with the chieftains. But it is always the lamasery that proves the most effective form of government. In this government, the Living Buddha, like the Dalai Lama in Lhasa, or the abbot of any other monastery, is the supreme ruler over his particular area. For the Tibetans live in semi-independent communities either around a monastery or a chieftainship, irrespective of other forms of government higher up and a chieftain is inevitably linked up with a monastery of some kind.

A monastery may be founded by a learned monk who is not a Living Buddha. But before his death he would forecast where and in what manner he would be reborn. A few years after his death, his former associates will make a search for his reincarnation from among the boys who may fall within the categories set by his prophecy. Then, through more tests and divinations, one particular boy will be identified as the monk in a new body.

This mechanism of reincarnation, whatever its religious basis, serves a democratic function. First, the selection is free in the sense that it is not limited to any family line. The boy who is best in native qualities will be chosen. Secondly, once chosen, the boy is trained in the monastery just as other novice-monks are without being spoiled by parental care. Thirdly, during his minority and even during his active rule, the councils and assemblies are ready to carry on the administration. In this last aspect, a lamasery is not unlike a constitutional monarchy.

That the lamasery has the advantages of aristocracy may be explained in this way. If we connect the strong points of aristocracy with those of dictatorship, they are manifest in continuity, prestige and efficiency. Once recognised as a Living Buddha, there is no doubt about prestige. In addition to overwhelming belief on the part of the people, the reincarnated lama in very early years is able to identify himself with previous existence by reading accounts in biographical form. Such a spiritual identity over many generations has no equal form of continuity. And, of course, such an administration with a responsible council and assembly behind him can be very effective.

Furthermore, quite apart from the Living Buddha himself, the members of the council and assembly are the most experienced in the monastic community. They are appointed by the Living Buddha fundamentally on the basis of implicit consensus of public opinion. They serve usually a term of three or four years, if they are not reappointed. No demagogue can get in and nothing can

destroy the stability of the council or assembly. At the same time it is quite sensitive to public opinion and new blood is continually circulated in the system because of the definite term of office. No wonder that mere chieftainship in term of heredity cannot compete with a lamasery in its stability and innovating power, not to say the ineffectiveness of the officials in these circumstances who are appointed from some central organisation to come to rule. This is how Tibetan governments have stood all the vicissitudes of centuries without fundamental change, quite apart from their remoteness from the outside world.

So much for the traditional spirit of Tibetan culture. What is to emerge then from its impact with modern science? This is dependent upon its traditional basis as well as the way in which modern science is to be introduced.

Whatever advantages there may be in Tibetan Buddhism, educationally it is a closed system without facilities for laymen, and sociologically the Tibetans are still living a tribal life in spite of their cosmic outlook in theory. Modern education should give the Tibetans opportunities outside the monastery as well as new subjects in the monastery itself.

Opportunities of education for laymen outside the monastery may be offered by outsiders. But the task of influencing the lamas to be interested in the welfare of the common people should not be neglected, because this would be a revival of Mahayana Buddhism. If their religion has something intrinsically valuable, the lamas, once aroused, should have no difficulty in teaching it rather than chanting it to the laity, or preserving it in the monastery. To interest the lama priests in the problems of the ordinary people is a process similar to that in which the secularisation of knowledge has taken place in many other parts of the world. It is a demand as valid for the Tibetan privileged now as it was to the Europeans in the Middle Ages.

As to the teaching of modern physical and social sciences inside the monastery, there are both traditional roots and actual beginnings. In the curricula of many lamaseries there are, besides philosophy and theology, separate courses in astronomy and medicine. Should the lamaseries add modern technique and discipline to their teaching, these would go a long way toward modernisation, without giving up spiritual values. In fact, members of our West China Frontier Research Institute have been able to demonstrate in Kham and Amdo the effectiveness of modern educational programmes side by side with powerful monasteries and instrumental in Amdo in adding modern discipline to the curriculum of a most influential monastery. And this not in spite of the vested interests of the religious order, but in collaboration with its authorities.

When such beginnings are more widespread and traditional roots more developed, a more intellectual non-ecclesiastic public as well as a more practical priesthood will be produced. The result of this joint process will be that in addition to individual spiritual and intellectual attainment, of which traditional Lamaic education has

been proud, there are improved animal husbandry and industrialisation of its products on the one hand, and civic principles to out-distance tribalism and to make the cosmic outlook of Buddhism more realistic on the other. Such a development on spiritual, industrial and civic lines in a comprehensive manner has no better name than Tibetan renaissance.

If this picture is too optimistic to those who are used to think in terms of Tibetan aloofness, let us remind ourselves of two things. First, any approach to another culture with an ulterior motive inevitably invites opposition. Tibetans will certainly be the last to welcome modernisation if it means the loss of their natural gaiety and spiritual values. Secondly, the Tibetans live in three large regions: Tibet proper, which enjoys an autonomy granted by Nanking; Kham, which is a regular province (Sikang) under

the Chinese Government; and Amdo, which is under the jurisdiction of the provinces of Szechwan, Kansu and Tsinghai (Kokoner). The latter two have always been open to outside contact and remain so. If we can demonstrate on a sufficiently large scale the value of outside contributions in Kham and Amdo, Tibet itself will be quick in opening its doors. A recent Tibetan Trade Mission to London by way of the U.S.A. to solicit outside economic interest is proof enough that the usual conception about Tibet is not well-founded.

"To the hungry, any food is satisfying," according to a Chinese proverb, and "To the thirsty, any water is welcome." The Tibetans are hungry in the matters of physical and social sciences, and if we are humble enough, we also recognise our hunger and thirst in the modern world for spiritual and humanistic nourishment.

## CHINA OR COMMUNISM?

by O. M. Green

NO question is more anxiously canvassed than what the Communists will do with China, speculation ranging from dark foreboding to a happy optimism summed up in the saying that things cannot be worse than under the Kuomintang and may well be better. At the time of writing there is no indication whether the Communists will agree to a Coalition Government or, as some think more likely, stay for the present consolidating their hold on the North. The one thing certain is that they are by far the most powerful party in China and they can probably conquer the South when they please by the same methods that have triumphed in the North.

It is axiomatic that nowhere are political prophets more liable to trip up than in China. Yet it is perhaps equally true that nowhere do the fundamental facts of nature and history carry more abiding weight or need more careful consideration. And as we grope in the misty future of Chinese Communism, there are two of these facts which have hardly yet received the attention that they deserve.

The first is that except for the eleven years of the Chin Emperor Shih Hwang Ti, 2,100 years ago, government in China has never been centralised. The Emperors were autocrats, appointing or dismissing Viceroys and subordinate officials as they pleased. But so long as the Viceroys sent the required amount of revenue to the throne and kept order in their viceroalties (a point on which the best Emperors always watched them closely) the Viceroys were entirely independent. They framed their own budgets, created their own armies, made their own regulations and had absolute powers of life and death. Incidentally this pattern of provincial independence was largely repeated in local government, which for all practical purposes, was managed by the Chinese people themselves through their village elders and mercantile guilds.

The classic example of viceregal independence was Canton's claim for the return by Japan in 1895 of two warships stated to belong to Canton, on the ground that the Japanese had been at war with Peking only, not with the South. When China's currency was the tael, a weight of silver, not a coin, its value varied in every province. And it was an unending complaint of foreign traders on the coast that when they had paid the transit dues which were supposed to discharge all their liability, their goods were taxed afresh in the provinces as they travelled up country.

These are a few examples of many that could be quoted of a system which had prevailed for fully 3,000 years and was the only practicable one in so vast a country, where each province differed so widely from its neighbour in character, customs and language. Though linked together by a common culture and allegiance to the remote and misty Son of Heaven, China was more properly to be called a Federation than an Empire.

The second great factor, perhaps even more important than provincial independence is that Chinese political teaching has always been anti-totalitarian. The essence of Confucius's political thought was that, between State and individual it is the State which owes duty to the citizens and not (beyond a certain sphere of common interest) *vice versa*. Thus, in the golden age to which Confucius continually appealed, the Emperor Yao, when setting out on his day's work for his people, would not even wait to see his first son born that morning. The "mandate of Heaven" was conferred upon Emperors expressly to take care of the Chinese people, typified in the solemn ceremony of the Winter Solstice, when the Emperor spent the night fasting in the Temple of Heaven preparatory to reporting to Heaven and his ancestors on



China's condition. Many emperors took the duty implied in the mandate very seriously. When they did not, Mencius taught that it was the sacred duty of the people to rebel.

Mention has been made of Shih Hwang Ti, the so-called "Napoleon of China," who built the Great Wall. By methods often compared to those of Hitler, he gradually conquered the numerous independent dukedoms into which the eleven centuries of the Chou dynasty had dissolved and unified China. Had he stopped there his dynasty might have survived. His failure and that of his supporters, the so-called Legalists, was that he tried to enforce a totalitarian State. Hence his famous burning of the Confucian books and slaughter of Confucian scholars, designed to stamp out the old political teaching and substitute that of the State supreme. Shih Hwang Ti died after a reign of only eleven years and swiftly China reverted to the principles of government which alone satisfied her moral and philosophical convictions.

Deep down beneath their more obvious shortcomings the real failure of the Kuomintang has been that they have tried to override these two age-long principles on which Chinese society is founded. They would, perhaps, dispute the charge of totalitarianism. But what can be thought of the claim enshrined in their Provisional Order of Government, promulgated on the establishment of the Government at Nanking in 1928, that the Kuomintang are the source of all authority, above the law, inviolable? Or of the political cells which they introduced into the army during the war? Or of their Gestapo and persecution of the independently minded intelligentsia? Or indeed of the patent fact that the Constitution, in which local self-government was a prime prescription, might as well never have been written; while all the strong protests of the National Assembly a year ago, made not the slightest difference to the one-party dictatorship of the K.M.T.?

In respect of the Kuomintang's attempt to centralise all government in itself, there can be no difference, even speciously, of opinion. The most conspicuous example of this was Dr. T. V. Soong's policy (in pursuit of his aim to draw up a Budget for the whole country) of insisting that all provincial revenues must be paid into the Central Treasury, which would allocate grants to the provinces according to their needs. Another example was the appointment of the detested *tangpu*, committees for the most part of ignorant youths, throughout the provinces and big cities, to enforce upon local authorities the prescriptions of Nanking.

The immediate result was one serious civil war with the Kwangsi generals at Hankow in 1929; another, still more serious with the Northern generals Yen Hsi-shan and Feng Kuo-chang in 1930; later, a minor revolt in Fukien; and on the eve of the Japanese invasion, a war between Nanking and Canton only narrowly averted. Here and there a few men were strong enough and remote enough from Nanking to pursue the old viceregal methods—Chang Tso-lin in Manchuria, Yen Hsi-shan in Shansi, Feng Kuo-chang for a while in Honan, Li Tsung-jen in Kwangsi. It could well be claimed that these provinces which stood out against the centralising grip of Nanking were on the whole the happiest in China.

Can Communism, for which the omnipotent, all-directing State is as the breath of its nostrils, steer clear of the Chinese Scylla and Charybdis on which Nationalism has foundered? Already there are faint warnings to the contrary. Wherever the Red Army goes political agents follow up to establish Marxist councils in the villages; and the Chinese Communists' bulletin in London prints glowing accounts of the eagerness with which the villagers attend council meetings and the delight with which they find that for the first time they have a voice in the village's affairs. Which is untrue in two respects. For the ancient councils of village elders took full account of public opinion; and the only voice permitted in the Marxist councils is that which harmonises in every note with the official direction.

There is indeed no lack of trustworthy information that the Chinese peasants are feeling the iron grip within the red velvet glove. The exactions of their grain are not less heavy, even heavier, than those of the "feudal landlords." Their young men are conscripted for the Red Army as ruthlessly as by the Nationalists. And the shrewd, individualist peasant, so accustomed to think out the problems of his own life, is becoming distinctly restive against the dragooning enforced by the Marxist councils. It is not generally known that last summer there was a considerable tide of refugees from the Communist northern areas southwards across the Yangtse.

These symptoms are as yet but straws in the wind of disfavour which begins to whisper even among those who have benefited by the Communists' redistribution of land. It may be several years before this wind attains any real force. The Kuomintang enjoyed a run of twenty years in power before they crashed and the Communists are at least as strong as the Kuomintang ever were. The first practical test of their stability when in office has still to come. Hitherto they have been held together and have maintained their reputation for clean government by the sense of having something to conquer and the inspiration of a great crusade. But when there is no more fighting to be done and when the romance of crusading gives place to the dull routine of administration, how long will it be before Red officials succumb to the spoils of office, and Red generals, so conscious of their power as they must be, find the orders of the political wordspinners at the centre alike an outrage on their dignity and their interests?

Looking back one cannot but see a strong similarity in the beginnings of both Kuomintang and Communists and even in their aims. Time was when the Kuomintang, too, were ardent revolutionists; when the speeches of Dr. Sun Yat-sen with but little editing, would have done as well for Mao Tse-tung; when thousands of eager boys and girls joined in the Revolution (just as they have been joining the Communists) inflamed with the ardour of self-sacrifice for their country's sake. Only when opposition was finally overcome did the ardour of crusading give place to the scheming of political careerists and recruits to the Kuomintang were those who saw in it the easiest means of self-advancement, while the ancient foundations of China's health and strength were deliberately ignored. One wonders whether the Communists will take warning from their predecessors' faults. If so, it will not be by creating a Chinese Kremlin.



# HONG KONG

by Paul S. Townsend

**H**ONG KONG arouses the admiration of all who see it. Immense strides have been made on the island which excite the wonder even of the inhabitants. One seventy-year-old resident in the Hong Kong Colony recently exclaimed: "How can the English do all this to a barren rock, and just in my life-time, whilst nowhere else in China has this occurred in the past 4,000 years?"

The answer to this question is to be found in a variety of factors. Hong Kong occupies one of the most vital strategic positions in the Far East. Consequently, the British Government have sponsored its development in every conceivable direction, thereby helping it to become one of the most prosperous international trading posts in an all-important region. Private enterprise, too, has also been given every opportunity to exert itself, and has taken full advantage of this. Many of its quarters still retain their century-old characteristics, but in the main its buildings are modern and give an air of prosperity unsurpassed anywhere in the East.

In 1947, the island experienced a trade boom, as a result of which Hong Kong became the greatest trade clearing house in those parts. Imports rose by no less than 62 per cent. and exports almost doubled, being 85 per cent. higher than in 1946. One reason for this phenomenal increase in trade is that the island is surrounded by countries which have been ravaged by war and internal strife which has impeded and obstructed trade relationships there. Consequently trade has been diverted to Hong Kong from Shanghai and other ports, and the island has reaped the benefit.

Hong Kong, of course, did not escape material damage during the war, and its economy suffered considerably. It fought tenaciously to retain its independence, and has tackled the problems of recovery in the same spirit with

the result that it has achieved a political and financial stability which no one ever anticipated.

Trading restrictions are few in number and the shipping facilities are superior to any that are to be found in the Far East. Thousands of "godowns," or warehouses, line the harbour, and every one is a hive of activity. The harbour offers safe anchorage to vessels of heavy tonnage, and was, prior to its transfer to Singapore on July 1st, 1943, the base for Britain's Pacific Fleet. Special typhoon anchorages are available, and give adequate protection to vessels during the September-October typhoon season. Fortunately, the port itself suffered but little war damage. The Japanese neglected it with typical indifference, but it was possible to repair it rapidly and the harbour was soon made serviceable again.

Goods of all kinds flood into the Hong Kong local markets, and they are in great evidence in the colony's well-stocked shops where one can buy almost unlimited quantities of practically everything at comparatively low prices. The island has proved to be a safe storage for goods and merchandise. The Hong Kong dollar is now accepted as the stable currency of practically the whole of Southern China, and as such offers security for investments.

The colony is not without its problems, but it is effecting its recovery smoothly, and has been singularly free of industrial and social disturbances. This is remarkable, for the population of Hong Kong has tremendously increased (to about two million) since the beginning of the war, due largely to refugees seeking sanctuary from the dangers which for years have been distracting China. The additional population has been absorbed into the life of Hong Kong with the very minimum of friction with the exception of the accommodation problem which has become desperate.

## THE "YOUNG MARSHAL" ON FORMOSA

by Robert P. Martin (Taipeh, Formosa)

**T**HREE young, smiling mountain police planted themselves squarely across the narrow slippery highway. They were unarmed, and their blue cotton uniforms glistened with the mist from low-hanging clouds. But they barred the road as effectively as if they had brandished rifles and pistols. They were determined that we should not pass, although Foreign Office credentials supposedly permit correspondents to travel freely anywhere

in Nationalist China. And their actions proved as much as any incident that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek still has firm control over certain aspects of Nationalist Chinese life.

Eight miles farther on, set in the heavily forested mountains on Formosa's west coast, is a widely-known spa where rich Formosans, Japanese and Chinese formerly bathed in hot mineral springs. But the spa is now closed

to all but a handful of visitors. The luxurious hotel has but two "guests"—Chang Hsueh-liang, known throughout the world as the "Young Marshal," and his beautiful concubine.

The Young Marshal has been Chiang's personal prisoner since 1937, in retribution for his leadership in kidnapping the Generalissimo at Sian. Chang was held prisoner until he agreed to end the civil war and form a "united front" with the Communists to resist Japanese aggression.

When the Generalissimo stepped down from the presidency a few weeks ago, his successor, Acting President Li Tsung-jen, ordered the Young Marshal to be released, along with other political prisoners, as an act of "good faith" to convince the Communists that he sincerely wanted peace. Orders were sent to Formosa that Chang Hsueh-liang be released. Governor Chen Chang, one of the Generalissimo's closest supporters, ignored the order. Li Tsung-jen sent a personal emissary, but he returned to Nanking without seeing Chang.

The simple fact is that the Young Marshal probably will never be released until Chiang gives the word. And Chiang, a stern and uncompromising man, cannot forget three things: the kidnapping humiliated him in the eyes of millions of Chinese, and forced him to reverse his planned course of defeating the Communists before fighting the Japanese; under the stress of fear, he was forced to flee in his bathrobe and hide in a cave on the outskirts of Sian.

Chang Hsueh-liang admitted he was a "rebel" and voluntarily returned to Nanking with the Generalissimo. He was first "interned" in the Generalissimo's home village of Fenghwa, and was then sent to Kweiyang, in West China, when the Japanese launched their full-scale attack on China. Early in 1946 the Young Marshal was sent to Formosa where he has lived since with his concubine, Miss Chao, who is well known in China for her paintings. A special swimming pool and tennis court have been constructed for Chang Hsueh-liang, but he spends most of his time studying the history of the Ming Dynasty. The Young Marshal is guarded by special gendarmes who are personally loyal to the Generalissimo. So our hopes of making a "personal call" on him were meagre indeed.

We left the lush rice paddies and sugar-cane fields far behind and drove deep into the mountains which are inhabited by aborigines. We passed one police station where a mountain guard bowed (later we learned this meant he wanted us to stop) and then drove into Shih-paerh (Eighteenth Son Village) where the entire village police force of 17 was drawn up to welcome us. We explained we wanted to visit the aborigines, but had no pass. The sergeant walked over to a battery of six telephones and called his superior. Our request was politely but firmly turned down. Finally the sergeant explained there was "something of military importance ahead" and then amended this to "something of importance." No one admitted that a man named Chang Hsueh-liang lived nearby. The aborigine women and children watched as we ate sandwiches. They talked a queer mixture of Fukienese and Japanese (police officers conversed in

Japanese) and grinned with delight when we gave them presents of tinfoil. Finally the sergeant hinted we had overstayed our welcome. We said we would have to continue up the road in order to turn our car round. The human road-block was established and, frustrated, we turned back. At the next police station we questioned another sergeant. He finally admitted that Chang Hsueh-liang had gone to the spa long ago "and has never come back."

That may be the Young Marshal's fate, either by necessity or from choice. At 50, and after 12 years' "internment," he is no longer the firebrand who succeeded his father, Marshal Chang Tso-lin, who was killed by the Japanese in Manchuria. The Japanese later drove the Young Marshal out of Manchuria when they annexed the north eastern provinces. Now the Communists control Manchuria, and one of Chang's brothers, Chang Hsueh-shih, is one of their leaders there. But the Communists may not want the Young Marshal to return, because his personal popularity might later prove politically embarrassing to them. The Nanking "peace group" wants to use him as a lever to pry more favourable terms from the Communists. And Chiang Kai-shek, apparently, is unwilling to release Chang Hsueh-liang under any consideration.

The Young Marshal has told Mo Te-hui, a noted Manchurian writer who is one of the few men still permitted to visit him on occasion, that he has "no political ambitions whatever." That seems a wise choice, at least, for the present.

## ORIENTAL ART

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# DUTCH BLIND ALLEY IN INDONESIA

by Harold R. Isaacs (Batavia)

THE Dutch have driven themselves up a blind alley in Indonesia. Their policies and behaviour, even when viewed in terms of Dutch self-interest, are a curious compound of malevolence and myopia, of desperation and plain stupidity. In their effort to retain the largest possible measure of power and position in the world's richest archipelago, they are bankrupting themselves and paralysing the Indonesians. They are sowing a crop of hatred and violence. They are ensuring that when they leave, as they eventually must, Indonesia will be rent by bitter and costly internal divisions.

Three years ago when I last visited Java, it was difficult to find a Dutchman who favoured independence for the Indonesians; it was a preposterous notion imposed upon the simple minds of a docile people by the Japanese. Since then they have become dimly aware that Indonesian nationalism is a force to be reckoned with, to be adapted and converted, if possible, to Dutch advantage. Now it is difficult to find a Dutchman who will not insist, verbally at least, that Indonesian independence is his dearest, indeed his only desire. Only he wants to grant it in his own way and he intends to do so whatever the cost to the Indonesian people.

This Dutchman likes to see himself as the stern yet kind parent of a family of wayward children. He knows best what is good for them and intends to do his duty. From conversations with Dutchmen right across Java, this

parental figure emerged repeatedly, the familiar and terrible man of good intent with rod raised, saying: "This hurts me more than it hurts you." He simply does not understand why this attitude evokes resistance and even hatred. He sees the Indonesians as a mass of recalcitrant ingrates whom he must nevertheless serve with his superior wisdom and guidance even if he has to beat them into submission. He goes about it with an air of self-sacrifice. He is baffled by the world's condemnation and is strengthened in his conviction that he is sorely misunderstood and must bear this trial too.

His mood of self-sacrifice is fed by the fact that life is no longer comfortably pleasant for the colonial Dutchman in Indonesia. The advantages of colonialism were not only the means to the easy wealth it provided. It also offered access to the attributes of wealth at pretty low cost. Even the small man, the employee or petty official, could exchange the dullness of lower middle class life at home for the comparative grandeur of spacious homes, docile and numerous servants, club life in the grand manner, and a sense of superiority fed every hour of every day by the teeming presence around him of a subject race dumbly contributing to his comfort and well-being. That is largely gone now. Dutchmen in Indonesia not only have to put up with the incomprehensible hostility and ingratitude of many Indonesians. They also have to put up with conditions of life which are anything but comfortable.



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Housing is scarce, crowded, and costly. Out of salaries that run up to an average of 1,000 guilders per month (for older, more experienced men), the single man has to pay up to 600 guilders for his room and board, 400 guilders for a suit of clothes, more than a guilder for a packet of cigarettes. Good liquor is beyond his reach. Cheap amenities have disappeared. But what is worse, economic incentives are disappearing. Dutch businessmen have no real confidence in the future. Young and old alike, they are oppressed by uncertainty and insecurity. And even where there is money to be made, current regulations make it difficult to reap adequate benefit from it. Dutchmen may now repatriate to Holland no more than 25,000 guilders, and that only at a rate of 10,000 guilders a year. The Dutchman is not noted for sentimentality in business affairs. I met a number of businessmen who said quite simply: "We're getting out as soon as we can."

Other Dutchmen with deeper roots in the country and a personal stake in official or military positions or in older established businesses with large fixed capital investments will, on the other hand, almost hysterically insist that they could readily settle the Indonesian situation "if it were not for foreign interference." Their resentment of the U.N. action in Indonesia is immense. Their newspapers have stooped to printing scurrilous and libellous comments on U.N. personnel. In all official relations there is a constant strain placed on U.N. officials who are made to feel like unwanted intruders. From the standpoint of these Dutchmen, the outside world simply does not understand what is going on in Indonesia. U.N. interference is at best a matter of ignorance, at worst a thinly-cloaked attempt, especially by the United States, to wrest the wealth of the Indies from Dutch hands.

For their part, the Dutch say, they want to see Indonesia "free"—but free under conditions of "law and order" and "avoidance of chaos." What they mean by this is a transition to some new system in Indonesia in which the Dutch will lose as little power and economic position as possible. That is why they have so stubbornly resisted the Republic. They could not bear to have any independent force in Indonesia, with its own army, its own unassisted government, its own ideas of what it wants to do with its freedom. On this issue every set of negotiations and agreements during the last three years has broken down. On this issue, first in July, 1947, and again last December, the Dutch set out to crush the Republic and leave the field clear for a Dutch-dictated "settlement" between themselves and more tractable politicians whom they have placed in positions of nominal power in a patchwork of contrived states and special territories in the rest of Indonesia.

As a result, the Dutch in acting to enforce "law and order" have completely disrupted law and order. To prevent "chaos" they have created a state of affairs that looks very much like chaos in large sections of the country. And they remain completely unaware that these are the consequences of their own acts. For their failure they blame the Indonesians, the United Nations, the United States, everyone, indeed, but themselves.

The unrationalised reality of this process is an ugly one. There has been a lot of killing, by Dutch and by

Indonesians. The war the Dutch have launched is inevitably a war of terror that follows the pattern set by the Japanese. Whenever a Dutch patrol runs into a guerrilla band or is attacked by unseen opponents, the nearest kampong or village pays the price for it. So-called "nests of gangsters" or places suspected of harbouring guerrillas or aiding them are promptly razed by gunfire and burning. The Dutch do not allow foreign military observers to accompany their patrols. But there have been numerous reports from other sources, from Indonesian villagers bringing their wounded into nearby towns, from guerrilla contacts. From one source in North Central Java I was told of ten kampongs in the vicinity of Bati that were shot up in this manner.

But the most decisive evidence has come from Dutch soldiers themselves. The Dutch use Indonesian soldiers as a rule to do the dirtiest work. In their Ambonese troops, schooled as mercenaries for many decades, they have willing tools. Eurasians, who suffer all the consequences of not being fully accepted by either community from which they spring, are, as everywhere, the readiest to prove their worth as jailors and executioners. Dutch troops who went through the humiliating experience of being defeated by the Japanese and maltreated through four years of prison camp life, have profound psychological scars to erase, if they can, in action against a weaker enemy. But young Dutchmen, coming out from Holland ill-trained and without combat experience of any kind, perhaps with memories of their own life under Nazi occupation, are still often untouched by the notion that a master race can do no wrong. Some of them have written horrified letters home describing some of the incidents that have taken place. The *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, a liberal paper, has quoted these letters as speaking of "inhuman treatment of prisoners and killing of inhabitants" and demanded a government investigation.

Terror begets terror. Indonesians fighting the Dutch in the hinterland can hardly be expected to observe the niceties that the Dutch themselves ignore. They have to fight the way they can, attacking isolated posts and estates. The Dutch, who never report their own punitive activities, are pleased almost daily to announce acts of murder, arson, and kidnapping perpetrated by Indonesian "terrorists" and "gangsters." Many of these reports are true. Even organised and controlled guerrilla warfare is no picnic. The regular Republican forces to-day in East and West Java are confronted with the problem of fighting their war in such a way as not to bring terror down on the villagers on whom they must depend for food and assistance. They also have to contend, inevitably, with freebooters who invariably crop up in such conditions and prey upon friends and enemy alike.

The tragic fact is that in Indonesia a lot of people are getting hurt because they happen to be in the way. This does not help the Republicans. Neither, certainly, does it help the Dutch. It is, in any case, the unanimous testimony of every source in Java except the Dutch that "law and order" prevailed in the countryside until the Dutch moved in to establish it. Then it disappeared entirely. The Dutch say confidently they will "mop up" comfortably in two, four, or six months. It is much more likely that for a long time to come neither the Dutch nor the Indonesians in Java will know any peace.



# LONDON NOTEBOOK

## Buddhist Art in Burma

At a lecture given to the Royal Society of Arts on March 3rd, Dr. Reginald Le May traced the development of Buddhist art in Burma from its origins to its fairly recent manifestations. Dr. Le May explained the difference between the Eastern and Western approach to art, one of the main dissimilarities being the fact that Buddhist religious art is almost entirely symbolic in contrast to Western representational art. The early history of Burma is still very obscure, and comparatively little has been accomplished in the field of archaeological research in the country. In 1926 a most important find was made by M. Duroiselle which proved definite evidence of Buddhist art in Burma in the 7th and 8th centuries. A relic chamber containing two gold images of Buddha, gold leaf manuscripts with Buddhist texts and gold and silver caskets was laid bare. Stone statues of the Buddha were also found at different places with inscriptions in Pyu and Sanskrit.

## New "March of Time" Picture

"Asia's New Voice" is a remarkable and successful attempt to present the gist of India's problems in a short film of 17 minutes' running time. Apart from its exceptional technical skill which contrives to make the audience actual eye-witness to the tragic assassination of Mahatma Gandhi or to penetrate into the house of a high-caste Brahmin, the film shows a definite social conscience. It describes the sad fate of the refugees and the contrast between the fabulously wealthy princes and the wretched life of the Untouchables for whom there is new hope in India's constitution which outlaws "untouchability." "Asia's New Voice" is a positive, constructive picture of the enormous potentialities of India and of her achievements during the short period since her independence.

## Lecture on Iqbal

Under the auspices of the Royal India and Pakistan Society, a paper on the great poet Iqbal was read by Professor Hamid Bilgrami, in the presence of many of London's leading Moslems, at the Islamic Cultural Centre, on March 22nd. Prof. Bilgrami, who is Professor of Urdu studies at the School of Oriental Studies, University of London, particularly stressed the dynamic effect of Iqbal's thinking on 19th century Moslem India. Depressed and frustrated by their loss of power at the break-up of the Mughal Empire and through the domination of the West, they felt defeated, embittered, stagnant and, lacking a new orientation, they turned inwards to a narrow orthodoxy. Iqbal was the first to conceive the ideal of Pakistan. He envisaged a state where the Indian Mussalman, though tolerant to all, could yet develop undisturbed his ideas of a society founded on high ideals, on a living and not a dead religious faith, and on brotherly love and duty. This conception is now a fact and because of the nobility and depth of his thinking, the new state has a figure of world stature and greatness.

## General Osborne's Tour

In his lecture given at the Over-Seas League, on March 22nd, to members of the East-India Association, General Orsborn of the Salvation Army gave a most interesting account of his recent tour of the Indian sub-continent. Although his main object was the inspection of Salvation Army centres in Ceylon, India and Pakistan, his observations on the life and general state of affairs in those three countries showed that he had travelled with his eyes wide open. He told of the misery and appalling conditions reigning among the refugees, of the element of fear prevailing on the Indian-Pakistan border and of the spiritual unrest sweeping the countries; he spoke of the almost superhuman burden resting on the shoulders of the Dominions' leaders and of the encouragement the work he stood for had received in many parts of the territory. General Orsborn's lecture was presided over by Mr. Noel Baker, Minister of Commonwealth Relations, who added a more optimistic note by quoting a

few examples in which the Governments of India and Pakistan had shown their intention of raising their countries' standard of living by the introduction of Western methods of soil cultivation and general production.

## Indian Film

The Indian film "Kalpana" (Sanskrit for "Imagination") was shown in London on March 13th to a predominantly Indian audience. It is the story of a writer who takes his script to a film producer who rejects it because it is too idealistic and lacks box-office appeal. The film was written and directed by Uday Shankar who himself plays the central role of the dancer. It is not a dance film as such, but there is dancing in formal terms, as a creative movement to project dramatic action, and dance sequences from all over India and even Bali are used. It is apparent that the film is almost Uday Shankar's own life story. It is thought that by re-editing and considerable shortening the film might be prepared for Western audiences, because there are many sequences which are well worth watching for their beauty of movement and fascinating costumes.

## The China Issue

Speaking at the Royal Empire Society on March 22nd, Mr. Gerald Samson said that although China's Communists are orthodox Marxists and their party was modelled on the Russian pattern, Britain should seek to maintain as many contacts with the Chinese people as possible in order to prevent the isolation of the Chinese people from the democratic world. British businessmen were right in staying on to do what business they could, as the Communists were in need of foreign capital, technicians and commodities, and would, therefore, be willing to enter into trade agreements. Britain could not prevent the spread of Communism in China, but could, by paying a great deal more attention to the needs of the populations in other Asiatic areas, help to save the latter from a similar catastrophe.

## Dr. van Mook's Future

The political future of Dr. van Mook is engaging the attention of those con-

cerned with S.E. Asian affairs. Passing through London recently on his way to a lecture tour in the United States, he was warmly greeted by many English friends made here during the war. One august body paid him the compliment of organising a "welcome back" dinner in his honour and informal conversations behind the scenes are likely to be continued when he returns next month. Meanwhile his new 250-page book, *Indonesia, the Netherlands and the World*, is creating a record in book production for these days. Published in Amsterdam on March 25th, it was begun after his return to Holland last November and the last lines written on February 28th. The first edition of 12,000 copies was taken up before the book went to press. It deals with Dutch-Indonesian affairs between 1942 and 1949—the period during which Dr. van Mook was at the helm—first as Colonial Minister to the wartime Netherlands Government in London and later, after 1945, as last Lieutenant Governor General of the Netherlands East Indies. For some months, Dr. van Mook plans to divide his time between Britain and

the United States. One of his immediate tasks is the preparation of an English version of the same book which he hopes to complete by mid-summer. It will not be a translation as Dr. van Mook intends to develop different aspects of the question for his home and foreign readers.

At the age of fifty-four Dr. van Mook's eyes are set on the future. For a long time he has been passionately interested in Western Union and especially in plans now beginning to crystallise for the development of a regional policy for South-East Asia as a whole in which East and West will co-operate. Recognising that the day has passed when contact between S.E. Asia and Western Europe can be maintained exclusively through bilateral channels between the Metropolitan Power and its colonial dependency, he is not afraid of the epithet "paternal" in describing even the new conception of multilateral intercourse through international organs. Through his close personal contacts with Britain and the United States he occupies a uniquely central position, the value of which is perhaps less appreciated in Holland than in the international arena. This does not mean

that he is likely to sever his connection with Indonesian affairs. His stock with the Republic never stood higher than when, to their open dismay, he left.

The crucial issue for the Dutch now turns on their attitude towards the Security Council's resolution ordering the reconstitution of the Republican Government at Jogjakarta. If the Dress Cabinet obeys it may well find itself overthrown by the hard core of Rome's Catholic reactionaries. On the other hand, there is always the—not very strong—possibility that the Labour Party may muster the courage to hazard their political existence on a firm stand for a rational and conciliatory policy towards Indonesia. In such case a reconstituted Dutch Government might take the obvious course of recalling van Mook and resolving the long conflict between the Hague and Batavia by appointing him Minister of Overseas Territories. Then at last there might be the single supreme direction of policy on the Dutch side which alone can find a solution. Alternatively, it is not impossible that he will yet find himself back in Indonesia in a totally unprecedented position.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir,—May I offer some comments in connection with Mr. Bodard's article on French policy in Indochina, which appeared in the January/February issue of your magazine?

1. The Viet Minh movement is a national union comprising all political and religious groups in Viet Nam. According to neutral observers and foreign diplomats, there are no more than 8,000 Communists in the country. "The Government of Viet Nam is a coalition of all kinds of nationalists." (*The Times*, London, February 26, 1949.)

2. Nothing in his past or present life can be invoked in favour of Bao Dai as spokesman of the Vietnamese people. Under the French rule he was, in his own words, "but a donor of medals to the living and an officiator at burials of the dead." He co-operated with the Vichyites and the Japanese during World War II, and after his abdication in August, 1945, went into retirement in Hong Kong, whilst the nation was placed in a serious predicament by successive violations on the part of the French of military and political accords. In 1947, when decisive battles were taking place between his people and French forces, by far superior in numbers and equipment, he was living a life of ease and safety, and even issued from his luxurious surroundings, statements which in their context were highly insulting to the patriots.

3. The "Accord" just arrived at between Bao Dai

and the French Government is supposed to give satisfaction to the nationalist aspirations of the Vietnamese people, and thus to split the resistance movement into moderate and extremist factions. It is expected that the latter will carry on the fight whilst the former lay down arms. It is interesting to report in this connection some further evidence of the unity of the resistance and the people behind Ho Chi Minh, furnished recently by the Commander in Chief of the politico-religious Cao-Daist dissident group, who has been pressing for a truce with the Viet Nam forces, and who has offered to act as intermediary between the Viet Nam Government and the French (see A.E.P., Saigon, March 1949). Furthermore, not even to consider the contents of the accord, the fact that it has been signed in the very capital of the country that is at war with Viet Nam, by a man whose reference is given above and who is to return to his country in a French warship, escorted by French troops, is in itself a condemnation of the "agreement." M. G. Mollet, Secretary-General of the French Socialist Party, wrote in a letter to Mr. Queuille dated January 17th, 1949: "Negotiations with Bao Dai cannot result in an agreement with the people of Viet Nam. The ex-Emperor has no authority in the country. He does not control the Armed Forces, nor do they owe him obedience . . . Every refusal to negotiate with him (Ho Chi Minh) adds to the confusion and strengthens the cohesion of the Vietnamese patriots, who have recognised in him the true representative of their aspirations."

The people of Viet Nam are hardly likely to respect the signature of a man who has taken no part in their three-year-old fight for independence, nor to have faith in the reality of the concessions he is said to have wrested from the French Government in this Accord, especially since their suspicions of the French Government's sincerity have been confirmed by the latter's failure to give any

substance whatsoever even to the Bay d'Along "Agreement," the mainstay of the Xuan administration.

Yours, etc.

DANG-CHAN-LIEU.

Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam,  
Press Service,  
Delegation in France, PARIS (VI)

## Mrs. Sarojini Naidu

by L. N. Gubil (Trichinopoli, India)

ON March 2nd, H.E. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Governor of the United Provinces, died as the result of a heart attack. Mrs. Naidu was born in 1879, of a Bengali family, in Hyderabad. The eldest child of Dr. A. Chattopadhyaya, a distinguished educationist, she studied at Hyderabad and later at King's College, London, and Girton College, Cambridge. From a very early age she started writing poetry, mostly in English. While in England as a student she published her first volume of verse which won her immediate recognition as a poet of great promise. With the publication of her subsequent volumes of poems Sarojini Naidu's fame as a poet spread, and in 1914 she became a member of the Royal Society of Literature.

In 1915 she met Mahatma Gandhi in London and soon came under his spell. She joined into the national struggle for independence and during the next three decades underwent repeated terms of prison sentences in

India. In 1924, she presided over the Indian National Congress, being the first woman to do so. In 1931, she came to London with Gandhi as one of the delegates to the Round Table Conference, and the following year went to South Africa as a member of the Government of India's delegation to enquire into the conditions of Indian settlers in Union territory. In 1947, Mrs. Naidu presided over the Asian Relations Conference in Delhi. With the advent of independence some months later she became Governor of the United Provinces, the first woman ever to hold such a post. She was extremely popular and played an important part in creating communal harmony in the Province. She was a pioneer of the women's movement in India and one of the founders of the All-India Women's Conference. She married Dr. Naidu when ill-health forced her to return to Hyderabad; it was an inter-caste marriage and started her on the work of social reform in which she advocated the essential unity of all races.

## SIAM'S CONCERN FOR HER ISLAMIC POPULATION

FOLLOWING various reports of alleged harsh treatment of the Islamic Siamese in the South of Siam which appeared in this journal and in some Malayan papers, the Siamese Government have issued a *communiqué* repudiating any such charges. Last year a committee was set up to investigate the conditions in the four Southern *Changwats* of Siam where the majority of the population are Muslims. It has now submitted its report and recommendations which the Siamese Government are now implementing by measures calculated to satisfy the wishes of the Islamic Siamese living in these provinces.

As far as administration is concerned, greater care is now being exercised than hitherto in appointing administrative officers for the Southern Provinces, special consideration being given to those who are well versed in Islamic customs and traditions. Whenever possible the appointment will be given to persons who have either been brought up or have had long service in Southern Siam and who are acceptable to the population there. Furthermore, the careers of officers under consideration will be carefully examined to ensure their high standard of official conduct. Other concessions to Islamic public opinion include the closing of Government offices on Fridays instead of Sundays and for a half-day on Thursdays instead of Saturdays, and the appointment of an Adviser on Islamic Affairs (Chula Rajmontri). Funds

and budget provisions for the building and maintenance of mosques have been created and facilities for the observance of religious customs and rites are being accorded, like the permission to slaughter buffaloes, which is otherwise strictly prohibited owing to the shortage of domestic animals for field labour. The traditional Muslim costumes will be entirely acceptable at all Government offices, and Islamic laws will be applied in all family matters like weddings, heritage and succession.

In the field of education, similar improvements are being announced. In primary schools a special curriculum for the teaching of the Malayan language is being introduced allotting to it the same length of hours as stipulated for Siamese, and textbooks in Malay are being prepared, two of which have already been published.

Finally, although the Islamic Siamese have the same rights and obligations under the Conscription Law as the other inhabitants of Siam, special arrangements are being made to meet their religious requirements and they are being accepted in Military, Naval and Police Cadet schools under the same conditions as other Siamese.

Concluding, the statement expresses the assurance that the Siamese Government will spare no effort to ensure and preserve peace and happiness for the population in their Southern Provinces as well as in all parts throughout the Kingdom of Siam.



# FROM ALL QUARTERS

## Trade Unions in Malaya

The first general conference of Malaya trade unions was held in Kuala Lumpur last month, and has been hailed by observers as a most significant event in the industrial history of the country. Its object was to find ways and means of establishing closer contacts between Labour representatives on the Federal Legislative Council and the workers. Convened by seven trade union members of the Council—two Malays, two Chinese and three Indians, it was attended by 150 delegates representing 80 per cent. of the unions in the country and all types of workers. There were Chinese boatmen from Penang, Tamil rubber tappers, Malay telephonists, medical workers, labourers in tin mines and employees from nearly all government departments. The conference decided to set up a committee of five to act as a liaison between the trade unions, the Labour members of the Legislative Council and the Labour Advisory Board. This is an important step in union development in Malaya as, since the outbreak of the Emergency, there has been no central body to speak on behalf of all the workers and no direct link with the Labour members on the Council who, like all other nominated members, are appointed by the High Commissioner. Thus the first step has been taken to form a central organisation for all Malaya to replace the Communist-dominated Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions which disintegrated when a state of emergency was declared last June and the Communist vanished into the jungle to assist the bandits. In the second six months of the Emergency, therefore, the movement was almost shattered by the desertion of the Communists and the genuine unions, though encouraged by the government policy to assist responsible and democratic unions to develop, had to face a hard struggle for survival. The conference was opened by Dato Onn bin Jaafar, Prime Minister of Johore, who referred to the need for full employment and complete co-operation between employers and employees. A message of welcome to the delegates, sent by Sir Henry Gurney, the High Commissioner, observed that some unions continued to operate exclusively on a racial basis which was undesirable and shortsighted. As long as the resources of the government and of industry had to be diverted so largely to the Emergency, the message continued, an improvement in the living conditions would inevitably be delayed and it was, therefore, in the interests of the trade union movement to give all assistance to the authorities in bringing about a speedy end of the present trouble.

## Indian States Integration

The process of integration and democratisation of the Indian States is continuing. 538 out of a total of 562 States, covering 29 per cent. of the total area of India and with a population of 48.8 million have so far been integrated by merger and grouping. In these States democratic institutions have been set up and their political, administrative and financial organisations have been developed so as to fit them into the pattern of the Indian Union. Three phases marked the progress of welding

the States into the entity of India: accession of the Rulers in respect of defence, foreign relations and communications; territorial integration; consolidation. One of the many advantages of this merger will be the saving achieved owing to the fixation of the privy purses of the Rulers. Discussions are shortly to be resumed on the organisation of the armed forces of the various states so as to make them fit into one overall pattern for the defence of India. A general control centre and uniform legislation are planned and a committee has been appointed to draft a model constitution for the Union and the States; it is expected that it will follow the Provincial pattern. An integrated system of federal finance is also planned.

## Inter-Dominion Conference for Refugee Rehabilitation

The conference at New Delhi met at the end of February with a view to creating favourable conditions in both Dominions for the return of refugees. The conference pointed out that the only real solution of the refugee problem was to try to rehabilitate refugees in their respective homes as advised by Mahatma Gandhi and that attempts to settle evacuees permanently in a land strange to them were unnatural. The president of the conference, Maulana Habib-ur-Rehman, well known Indian Muslim leader, said that the conference aimed at creating a genuine feeling of friendship between the peoples of Pakistan and India. The Congress President added that both India and Pakistan should welcome refugees who might return to their former homes. Lady Mountbatten, who recently visited India, stated that great progress had been made in the rehabilitation of refugees, and that she had found in refugee camps and centres a spirit of service and desire amongst refugees to help themselves.

## Radio S.E.A.C. Transferred to Ceylon Government

"Radio Ceylon," the broadcasting station in Colombo which until recently operated under the control of the War Office, has been transferred by the U.K. Government to the Government of Ceylon. In taking over the station, the Ceylon Government have agreed to make facilities available to the U.K. Government to use the transmitting station for eight and a half hours a day until the short wave station at Singapore is ready. These broadcasts will not be directed to Ceylon but elsewhere in S.E. Asia and the Far East.

## Australia's Pacific Policy

There is no disagreement between Australia and the United States over their respective trusteeships of islands in the Pacific. Both Australia and the United States are equally free to develop their respective areas. In the case of an emergency the United States would use the base at Manus Island in the same way as Australia would use American mandated positions. The Australian Minister for External Affairs, Dr. Evatt, replying to criticism of the Australian Government's foreign policy, stated that a main point of his policy was the creation of regional arrangements in South-East Asia, particularly in the Pacific, where Australia wanted the closest co-operation



with the United States. Australia's Minister for Defence foreshadowed the formation of a regional defence pact in the Pacific, similar to the Atlantic Pact. Membership of such a pact should include countries on both sides of the Pacific.

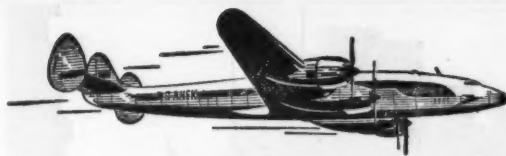
The Prime Minister, Mr. Chifley, emphatically denied that his government or the previous government had ever been a party to any proposal to sell New Guinea to the Japanese. He was referring to a statement reported to have been made in Japan by an American evangelist. The Minister for Defence made it clear that Australia has no intention of annexing New Guinea but that she was entitled to take measures to defend it.

### A Malayan Chinese Association

Mr. Tan Cheng Lock, explaining the aims of the Malayan Chinese Association at various meetings in Kuala Lumpur and Malacca, stressed the fact that an inter-communal understanding had to be achieved between the Malays and the Chinese, the two major races which form between them about 88 per cent. of the population of Malaya. He pointed out that the Chinese in Malaya had come to stay and had to unite not only amongst themselves but also with the Malays and other communities to make Malaya which fed and sustained them, one country and one nation. That different races could be united successfully had been proven successfully by the examples of Canada and Switzerland. He added that the Chinese with all their industrious ways and enterprise had been too intent on making money and had overlooked the other issues. But to-day, more than ever, in these times of stress and political and other dangers, it was absolutely necessary for them to unite with the other people of their adopted country to combat unrest and make their new country into a prosperous land. All Chinese should qualify for and acquire Malayan citizenship, thereby completely identifying themselves with the interest of Malaya. Experience has shown that whenever aliens are treated as citizens they become citizens whatever their religion or race. Recent events have awakened the leaders of the Malayan Chinese community to the urgent necessity of organising themselves on a Malaya-wide scale to safeguard their interests and to collaborate with the other communities to help and solve the Malayan problems which affect all of them. The Malayan Chinese Association has been formed to try and secure justice for the Malayan Chinese as well as to enable them to work and identify themselves with the other communities.

### Library Losses in Burma, the Philippines and China

According to a Unesco questionnaire, library war losses in Burma at the University of Rangoon totalled 25,000 volumes at the University Library, 15,000 volumes at Judson College and 30,000 volumes at University College Library (Mandalay); the Chinese Universities suffered a total loss of 364,000 volumes, and the Philippines University libraries proportionate losses. In Manila the Bureau of Public Libraries has started a scheme of exchanging books written and published in the Philippines against books produced in other countries, as a means of increasing overseas knowledge of Philippine development and receiving similar information from abroad.



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## BOOKS ON THE

CHINA OHNE MAUER, by Herbert Tichy (L. W. Seidel & Sohn, Vienna, \$3.25).

THIS IS CHINA, by Harold B. Rattenbury (Frederick Muller, Ltd., 15s.).

Both these books have a common denominator: the authors try to explain the complex problem that is China to the uninitiated reader. Mr. Tichy does it by contrasting a Westerner's and a Chinese scholar's opinions on the differences between living and past China. Though the Westerner is doing most of the talking, and does not always speak to the point, the method would seem of practical value if used in a dialectical way. Unfortunately, Mr. Tichy is neither a trained sociologist nor a dialectician; the result, therefore, is slight and disappointing though the book, written in the easily digestible and highly palatable Viennese *feuilleton* style, does not make unpleasant reading. There is one chapter, however, the concluding one, on the life of Chang the beggar, which is of more than ephemeral value, if only because it tries to explain the fate of China as mirrored in the fate of a Chinese peasant. One of the curious things in well-nigh all travel books written about China for the great mass of readers, is the lack of analysis of the part played in China by the peasants in politics. Even an old China hand like Rev. Rattenbury, who in *This is China* establishes himself as an amateur sociologist of no mean value, is unable to get to the bottom of the problem. None of the China "experts" has yet drawn the attention of the reader to the fact that the revolution now in progress in what used to be the Middle Kingdom is supported by the peasants as a revolution for the peasants, whereas all the recent revolutions in Europe had to reckon with essentially "anti-revolutionary" agriculturalists. To find a parallel and an explanation for the events in China one has to go back to the peasant war in Germany and Friedrich Engels' book on that subject. This shows the striking similarities of feudalistic-agrarian societies. Tawney and some Chinese sociologists have shown us where the roots of China's troubles lie but not one of the travelogue writers has done so. Their bourgeois upbringing seems to bar the access to the Chinese peasant's mind, without the unveiling of which no deeper understanding of China is possible. The mere re-stating of Confucianist principles will not do in this respect. But the foregoing should not give the impression that Rev. Rattenbury's book is of slight value. *This is China* shows China as she is, and the book is certainly of use as a primer, as an introduction to things Chinese. With more analysis a better synthesis could have been accomplished; though outdated by recent events *This is China* remains highly topical and cannot be haughtily dismissed. There are some curious misrepresentations and avoidable misprints in Rev. Rattenbury's book: the open road from the Black Sea to Cambaluc (not Cambulac) goes to the credit of the Mongols and not of China; the name

# FAR EAST

of the Abbé who travelled in Tartary was Huc, not Hue. Such lesser inaccuracies, however, do no great harm, and if the book does not give much to the student of China, the average reader should get enough information and pleasure from its perusal.

JOSEPH KALMER.

KINGDOM OF ADVENTURE: EVEREST, by James Ramsey Ullman (Collins, 21s.).

MOUNT EVEREST, 1938, by H. W. Tilman (Cambridge University Press, 15s.).

The French Revolution, which saw the storming of the bastions of privilege, also saw the first serious attempts to climb mountains for the sake of getting to the top. Since then mountain after mountain has been conquered. The greatest of them all, however, Mount Everest, still remains impregnable. Mr. J. R. Ullman, himself an experienced mountaineer, has collected and edited the narratives of those who sought to reach the summit of Everest, and has added to the whole an exceedingly interesting commentary of his own. The height of Everest was not discovered until 1852. In 1849 surveys were made of the Himalayas. The figures were sent back to Calcutta for computation. One day, three years later, the Bengali Chief Computer rushed into the Surveyor-General's office to announce that he had just worked out the height of the highest mountain in the world. Nevertheless, it was not until 1921 that the first expedition set out to reconnoitre the route to the top. A climbing expedition next year failed, as did the expeditions that followed it. Everest has claimed its victims. In 1924, the climbers got within 800 feet of the summit. Andrew Irvine and George Leigh-Mallory set out on the last lap, disappeared into the mist and were never seen again. Ten years later an eccentric young English mystic, convinced that his destiny was to climb the summit of Everest, smuggled himself into Tibet. He had climbed only part of the way up the mountain when he died of cold and exposure. Mr. Ullman's editing has produced a fascinating tale of adventure, which will be enjoyed by all—whether they be mountaineers or not.

Mr. H. W. Tilman has written with considerable artistry the story of the last attempt on Everest in 1938. He led the expedition, and organised it on more simple lines than the previous ones. The first two attempts to reach the top proved unsuccessful, and a third was prevented by the advent of the monsoon. Everest still remained impregnable. Mr. Tilman's book, as well as being a chronicle of adventure, ranks as a work of literature in its own right. Both books are remarkably well illustrated, and will undoubtedly occupy a fit place in the history of mountaineering.

NEIL STEWART.

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# A SCHOLARLY ENTERPRISE

by Sir John Pratt, K.B.E., C.M.G.

ASIA MAJOR (Taylor's Foreign Press, 25s.).

ONE of the very welcome signs of the revival of Oriental studies in this country is the announcement that appeared in the March number of *Eastern World*: "*Asia Major* has resumed publication." *Asia Major*—a review devoted to the study of the Languages, Arts and Civilisations of the Far East and Central Asia—made its first appearance in 1923, but ceased publication in 1935 after eleven volumes had been produced. Part 1 of Volume I of the new series appeared in February of this year, and all those concerned in its production are to be congratulated on their success in maintaining the high standard established by the First Series. The Introductory Volume of the First Series—The Hirth Anniversary Volume of 1923—was dedicated to a great German scholar, Friedrich Hirth. Volume I of the New Series is dedicated to the memory of a great French scholar, Henri Maspero, who died in the concentration camp of Buchenwald shortly before the final collapse of Germany in 1945. To the Hirth Anniversary Volume Arthur Waley contributed a translation of a Chinese text "On the Criticism, Collection, Purchase and Handling of Pictures"; and to the first volume of the New Series he has contributed a valuable Note on Mencius, which represents the fruits of the progress made in Chinese studies since Legge made his great translation of the Classics eighty years ago. Professor Haloun wrote on the Chinese clans in the earlier volume and now contributes to the new volume an account of the Liang Chou insurrection which led to the downfall of the later Han Dynasty. The name of one other scholar only appears as a contributor to both volumes—Bruno Schindler, Ph.D., the Founder and Editor of *Asia Major*.

A Journal such as *Asia Major* appeals primarily to the specialists—a small but, happily, expanding band—in the fields of study which it covers. Geographically these fields comprise a vast area of the earth's surface inhabited by one-third of the human race who have at various periods carried the torch of civilisation to heights undreamed of in the West. Western civilisation inherited from the Near and Middle East the deadly sins of arrogance, intolerance and pride. We have always stood ready to enslave and persecute, and we have shown a corresponding reluctance to recognise that Asia has produced anything worthy of the name of civilisation. Sir William Jones, whose bicentenary was celebrated with great enthusiasm two years ago, the greatest Orientalist this country has produced, once gave a lecture on the Chinese in which he declared that "their philosophy seems yet in so rude a state as hardly to deserve the appellation" and "of painting, sculpture or architecture as arts of the imagination they seem (like other Asiatics) to have no idea." Lord Elgin, who brought our second war with China to a successful conclusion, was the guest of honour at the Royal Academy banquet in 1861. He assured his

distinguished audience that, in matters of art, he did not think we had much to learn from China. He was ready to admit, on the authority of Landseer, who was sitting next him, that the Chinese mind had "caught from time to time glimpses of the beautiful in colour and design," but "the most cynical representations of the grotesque have been the principal products of Chinese conceptions of the sublime and beautiful." In the Eighteenth Century the Vatican decreed that the Chinese ceremonies in honour of Confucius and in memory of their ancestors were idolatrous and superstitious and must at all costs be trampled underfoot by Christian missionaries. That decision was reversed in 1938, when the Catholic Church, in effect, became converted to the view expressed in the Report of the Scarbrough Commission that Western and Eastern civilisations should no longer remain separated by superstition and ignorance.

In 1946, the Scarbrough Commission found that the general public had only begun to be aware of the importance of Chinese civilisation. Great Britain still lagged behind in the field of oriental studies but the Commission's proposals, which are now being put into operation, should, in the fulness of time, result in the establishment of these studies at the Universities principally concerned on a sound basis of scholarship and research. The Commission's report refers to the endless tasks of research that await scholars in this field, and recommended that "increased funds should be provided for the publication of the results of research." Unless scholars are provided with both facilities for publication and opportunities for discussion and criticism, effective research cannot be carried on. This vital need has now been met by the revival of *Asia Major*. Dr. Schindler has secured the collaboration of the four Professors representing Far Eastern studies at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London, who, with Dr. Arthur Waley of the British Academy, make up an Editorial Board of exceptional strength. The success of the new venture would thus seem to be assured, provided always the necessary financial support is forthcoming to tide over the difficulties of the first few years.

In the Hirth Anniversary Volume of 1923, Dr. Schindler set forth the aims of *Asia Major* as follows:—

"What we intend is not to bring elaborate representations and final results, but preliminary studies ('Vorarbeiten'), i.e., to furnish philologically and critically sifted material for further studies in linguistics, grammar, archaeology, pedagogics, history in its widest scope (history of civilisation, of politics, of administration, of jurisdiction, of religion and of art), ethnography and ethnology of the Indo-Chinese region. The basis of this work is to be: an exact philology."

*Asia Major* is mainly, therefore, a Journal for the scholar and the specialist, but the general reader, if he makes a habit of turning over its pages, will find much to reward him. In the number now before us, for example, there is an interesting article by Professor Moule on the Ginkgo Biloba, otherwise the Maidenhair Tree; and the article about Eunuchs in the T'ang Dynasty made me rub



my eyes and wonder whether this was really something that had happened in the Seventh Century of our era or whether it was all about K'ang Hsi and the Empress Dowager, Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists mas-

querading under other names. The Chinese peasant remains the one permanent and stable factor in the Far East. He is the most lovable person in all history and his problems do not change.

## MAHATMA GANDHI

by B. S. Sawhny

MAHATMA GANDHI, by H. S. L. Polak, H. N. Brailsford and Lord Pethick-Lawrence (Odhams, 12s. 6d.).

MORAL laws are natural laws in the sense of being the conditions on which the health and welfare of human society depends. Experience, which acquaints us with other natural laws, acquaints us also with these. But reasoned principles of moral conduct, cast as seeds upon the highway of life, cannot, if trampled into dust by the unconscious pedestrian, bear the harvest of his happiness. There is no service mankind needs more to-day than that which endeavours to make the thinking mind love, admire and trust the beautiful idealisms of moral excellence.

In his contribution to the biography of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. H. S. L. Polak is able to make us feel that the development of the soul is governed by laws similar to those which favour the growth of the body. A concrete will, determined by its descent from this particular people and that particular family, directed towards such and such an aim in life because of this or that circumstance is introduced to us and the encouragements and hindrances with which it has to contend mould it into a Great Soul before our very eyes. Mr. Polak reveals the Mahatma reflected in the minds and lives of those around Gandhiji with very considerable success. His account ends with the year 1914.

The Mahatma returned to India from South Africa in January, 1915, and the narrative is taken up by Mr. H. N. Brailsford who covers the years 1915-1939. For the account of the remaining years of Gandhiji's life, up to his assassination in 1948, we are indebted to Lord Pethick-Lawrence. As is to be expected, the political situation is ably described by these experts in Indian Affairs. It is not the political historian who is to blame if "Philosophy will clip an angel's wings." Mr. Brailsford duly notes that "Always he (Gandhiji) acted on instinct, and usually the reasons he subsequently gave were unconvincing afterthoughts." It cannot be denied that the doctrines, utterances and opinions of the Mahatma, at different stages of his evolution, can be made to reveal a whole chaos of contradictions. This is no doubt true of every man of genius and it is a pity if, out of their regard for Gandhiji, his biographers have paid insufficient attention to his inconsistencies. A deeper insight into his limitations might well have enabled them to give a truer appreciation of Gandhiji and the culture which produced him.

Mr. Brailsford complains: "This Indian road to God narrows and empties the universe." And Lord Pethick-Lawrence asks: "But could any nation rise to the heights demanded of it by the Mahatma? And, if any consider-

able part of its population persisted in its preference for the older methods of violent resistance, could the adoption of the Gandhian policy by the remainder produce the postulated results?" The present writer believes that, in spite of the innumerable manifestations of life in time and space, it is, in a very important sense, free from all multiplicity. It seems that whatever one does to life in any of its manifestations, in some measure, one automatically does the same to oneself. Do not those who treat life with contempt themselves become contemptible? Does it not, sooner or later, dawn on all those who continue to laugh at life that they themselves are the joke? And, if the only way in which one can become a Mahatma is by striving to make life sacred, then surely "the conquest of the adversary by suffering in one's own person" must also become feasible. India does not believe in miracles but India does not doubt that Jesus Christ could and, perhaps, will "produce the postulated results." One supremely great individual is all that is required.

No one knows better than Mr. Brailsford that, when an Indian contemplates the flower-like life that would merit the blessing of the Lord Jesus, the flower that comes to his mind is always the Lotus. For us there is an indissoluble and significant connection between the perfume and the grace of the Lotus and the stench of the stagnant pools in which it thrives. Non-attachment is most certainly the consummation we devoutly crave, but we know that only those who start by wooing life with the passionate fervour of a Byron have any chance of achieving it. The Mahatma is nothing if not the Mahabhanghi ("great scavenger") of the world of the spirit and, by denying the will to live in the Schopenhaurian sense, he could no more assimilate and transform the wretchedness and filth of life than an insensate Shakespeare could purge human emotions. The Buddha does not ask us to put down all desires, but only the wrong desires and that, not by denying the will, but rather by exercising it. This is the advice he gave to the nun Gantami: "Of whatsoever teaching thou art sure that it leads to passion, and not to peace; to pride and not to humility; to the desiring of much, and not to the desiring of little; to the love of society, and not to the love of solitude; to idleness, and not to earnest striving; to a mind hard to pacify, and not a mind easy to pacify—that, O Gantami, that is not dharma." Mr. Polak makes it abundantly clear that the Mahatma had some very similar outlook on life. And Mr. Brailsford had the key to Gandhiji's personality since he knew that always the Mahatma acted on instinct and that the reasons he subsequently gave were unconvincing afterthoughts. It is surprising that so many doors so worth opening still remain locked.

# MELANESIAN MAGIC ART

by Winifred Holmes

THE art of the vast Oceanic area of the Pacific divides itself clearly into four groups, Melanesian, Micronesian, Polynesian and Australian. The waves of Asiatic immigrants who populated these scattered areas found different geographic and climatic conditions and in their comparative isolation, they developed different cultures and arts with, however, enough affinity to be able to class all the art they produced as Primitive and Magical.

Within that framework there are many variations. Natural forms are the basis of them all, but whereas in Polynesia the forms are geometrised and there are intricate surface patterns corresponding to the entangled social and religious organisations developed by Polynesian society in their pleasant fertile islands, in the coral atolls of Micronesia—the Marianas, the Carolines, the Gilberts—these natural forms are simplified to meet the extreme scarcity of material. Economy forced ornamentation to grow out of function and technique rather than being added for its own sake.

In the violent, lush, dramatic islands of Melanesia, where earthquakes, tidal waves, tropical storms of savage intensity alternate with hot sun, these same natural forms are exaggerated and distorted to express equally violent and dramatic emotional content. It is this art in particular which has astonished and impressed the modern artist and from which some, like Chirico, Picasso, Paul Klee, Joan Miro, Max Ernst and Henry Moore have found a new inspiration in form and content. The sur-realists in particular, have found these an expression of the world of the sub-conscious.

The chief centres of the finest Melanesian art are the islands of New Ireland, New Britain, New Hebrides and the Sepik River and the Papuan Gulf of New Guinea. Melanesia, "the black islands," is inhabited by two races, the Papuans and the more numerous Melanesians, who originated from a mixture of Papuans with later immigrants. It is a population of some two million who live simply by means of hunting, fishing and primitive agriculture. Between the islands and jungle-bound swamps and mountains there are variations in culture but the general beliefs are the same, and the religious art which is bound up with these beliefs is based on the same ideas and has much the same functional value.

The people are animists: they believe in two main classes of spirit, one in the very powerful spirits of the dead and the other the equally powerful spirits of nature and of legendary and mythological beings. Each kind of spirit demands his own ceremony and for them masks and image figures are needed and ceremonial clubs, paddles, drums, bowls, bull-roarers, staffs and personal ornaments, all calling for personal interpretation by the men who make them. There are no professional artists. It is the

work of the members of the many secret societies to make the masks and figures and ornaments needed by the spirits they serve. In the case of an initiation it may be the boy's sponsor who must make the necessary masks worn during the ceremony.

Architectural carvings—of the roof spire, the lintels, the door-jambs—have a religious significance too. They are representations of human, animal and bird forms and are the abodes of the spirits who guard the house. Some will be ancestor spirits, others represent the moon, the tides, a crocodile or a bird, may be totemistic and closely connected with the family or tribe. In many parts of Melanesia, in New Caledonia, for instance, when the head of the house dies, the magic dies with him and his house is pulled down and the carvings "killed" by being mutilated.

There is a widespread concentration on the human form, especially the head, in Melanesian art, and this produces an ideal vehicle for magical content as, with an unconscious combination of deep conviction and dramatic showmanship, the artist distorts and exaggerates, making in one case the beaky nose, in another the large round staring eyes, in another the grinning mouth with crocodile teeth, to emphasise the essence of the magic he is portraying.

In the Sepik River area of New Guinea the sense of plastic form is strongly marked and distortion emphasises the sculptural form and does not distract from it. In the wood carvings found here a real three-dimensional sculptural sense is apparent, and the curved surfaces of the images lend life and movement to the organic whole.

Colour is used strongly. This is not surprising as in the hot, humid swamps and jungle-lands of New Guinea there are many brightly coloured flowers and birds. Colour lends emotion too, and these images and masks are highly charged with emotion. As there are no big mammals in the area the cults are reptilian—crocodile and snake, bird—the frigate bird in particular, and fish, but these are made in their spirit manifestations as terrifying as any mammal could ever be. It is generally thought that the volcanic nature of the area, the constant earthquakes, tidal waves, tropic storms, increase the violence of the emotional content of the sculpture, an emotion lacking in the stylised art of the more temperate Polynesian islands.

Before the coming of the white man there was no knowledge of metals in Melanesia, carvings being done by means of adzes and knives made of stone, or shell, sometimes of fish or animal teeth. The ceremonial masks, made in secret, are decorated with feathers, leaves, tusks, teeth and shells to make them more terrifying and fantastic when the wearer springs into the sacred ground and the mask, representing the spirit and containing its essence,

appears before the people's gaze for the first time. Enormous size, height, bright colour—brick red, green, black, white, whatever earth pigments are available in each area—give this art of the Sepik River a melodramatic quality.

In the Massim area of New Guinea this characteristic is lacking. Here there is no distortion. The images are life-like; decoration and colour are dignified and restrained. The general treatment seems to aim at controlling and not heightening emotion and the craftsmanship is always of a very high order.

Farther west in Melanesia, in New Caledonia, we find distortions and emotion in the large ceremonial masks, painted black, and in the spirit figures. These masks are mounted on a helmet of cane and on top are large wigs of human hair decorated with teeth, leaves, shells, etc. The wearer also makes himself more fantastic by draping bark-cloth over a crinoline, from which are hung the feathers of the frigate-bird, leaves and bark-cloth. The frigate-bird, distorted to a monstrosity, is the most terrifying and prevalent motif and the large masks have noses exaggerated into beaks. The effect is one of menacing and restrained power.

New Hebridean masks and figures are ancestral too. There is a particularly strong ghost cult and ancestor worship in these islands which is fully represented in their art. The masks are beautifully made and are always painted with horizontal stripes of brick red, pink and white. When the trunk of a tree-fern is used for an image its rough surface is coated with clay to hold the paint. By means of these stripes of paint the effect achieved is one of lightness, air and movement.

In New Britain tall cylindrical masks are made of bark-cloth surmounted by a tall bamboo pole from which feathers and leaves fly out when they are worn. In some of the dense jungle clearings snake dances are held, and for these the dancers wear smaller masks of animal and reptilian heads, the crocodile being the most common. The dancers, wearing these masks, emerge from the sacred bamboo house in which they have been dressing, carrying snakes and wearing crinolines covered with bark-cloth as in New Caledonia. The scene is fantastic and has seldom been seen by outsiders.

It is in New Ireland that the apex of formal virtuosity in Oceanic art is reached. It is chiefly a mortuary art; images of ancestor spirits, masks, carved frieze reliefs, all richly painted in red, yellow, white, blue, black and decorated with shells, bark-cloth and fibre. Special memorial festivals, *malagan*, are held from one to five years after the death of a relative by his chief survivor. During the preparations for these ceremonies, a high wall is built round a small enclosure. Inside this the old men instruct the younger artists in the totemistic signs and formulae which must go to the making of the images and objects and masks. On the day of the ceremony the wall is pulled down and the carvings revealed to the crowd. Food is provided and the dancers, wearing the high, crested helmet-like masks, dance for many hours. These masks, in particular, have excited the artists of the West who, grown tired of sophisticated art, became interested in the dream world and the unconscious with which the spirit and the magic art of Melanesia are themselves chiefly concerned.

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# ECONOMIC SECTION

## Will Japan Again Menace the British Pottery Industry?

by Richard Hooker

**T**HE British Pottery Industry, faced with reports of the re-appearance of cheap grade Japanese pottery in quantity in the American Continent, is a little disturbed. It fears, most of all, a return by Japanese manufacturers, to the days of cheap labour, a subsidised industry with abnormally low overheads, enabling the Japanese potter to make his pottery at prices far below those of British wares.

In considering what might be a future threat, it may be useful to dwell on the position before the last war.

Before 1939, Great Britain—who has always held first place in the world markets for high quality bone china and earthenware—found that her exports in the lower priced markets were being far outstripped by Japan. Between 1929 and 1938, Japan acquired most of the Asiatic market and her exports to Australia, South Africa and Canada rose by 70, 45 and 50 per cent. respectively. The sterling value of exports for 1937 from Japan, Germany and Great Britain were £3,100,000, £2,550,000 and £2,450,000 respectively. Great Britain, once known as the "potter to the world" had fallen to third place. Japanese imports into the United States rose enormously and between the years 1932-1940, Japan exported to U.S.A. a greater quantity of pottery than Great Britain, Germany and Czechoslovakia combined.

Japan's success was attributed solely to very low wage standards, bad labour conditions—including the use of child labour—and a genius for plagiarism, but although these were important factors, they formed only a part in the achievement of Japan's export trade.

Between the two world wars, Japanese pottery production presented two entirely different aspects. On the one hand, there were thousands of small peasants and family concerns, employing as few as six people (including children) and working for large organisations at piece rates which justified the use of the term "sweated labour." Their efforts were co-ordinated by overseers who supplied clays and working equipment and controlled production and distribution. They made poor quality wares, the bulk of which were sold in the home market. But, on the other hand, there existed several large factories, employing from

1,000 to 2,500 workers, and concentrating on the export markets. These were equipped with the most up-to-date types of machinery and tunnel kilns: in lay-out and standard of working conditions they were superior to the great majority of pre-war British potteries. Designed on American-inspired lines for the flow-production of highly standardised articles, they were also well provided with canteens, educational, and recreational facilities. A highly organised manufacturers' federation and exporters' guild co-ordinated production and export marketing policies, and the needs of lower and medium-priced markets were carefully studied. By offering felspar china at prices considerably below those for English bone china they reaped considerable advantage.

The quality of Japanese export wares steadily improved between 1930 and 1939. Indeed, symmetrically shaped, well-designed china, of good colour and finish was being sold before the war, in the American market, at the same prices as British earthenware.

It is true that Japanese labour was regimented to an extent that no British or American workers would tolerate, and that wages were as low as 3d. per hour. But against this must be reckoned the fact that Japanese workers received much more of their pay in kind, including food, housing, medical services, free education, entertainment and various bonuses. The United States Department of Commerce calculated that, by Japanese standards, a monthly income of £5 was adequate for the normal living expenses of three people and left a margin for cultural and other activities.

To-day, the capacity of the Japanese pottery industry, according to the Board of Trade of the United Kingdom, is now nearly as high as before the war but, so far, only about a quarter of the pre-war capacity is being used. The industry is being rehabilitated under General MacArthur's direction, and it is claimed that export prices are fixed at world level.

Exports rose rapidly during 1948. In April \$319,964 worth of clay and clay products (mainly pottery) were exported from Japan; by June the figure had risen to \$647,648, and the total for the first six months of the year was \$1,891,576. Export returns published by SCAP show that in September Japan exported 8,628 dinner sets to the United States at an f.o.b. value of \$12,942 and 1,482 sets to Canada valued at \$2,371. It is also understood that during the closing weeks of 1948 Japanese manufacturers then had enough orders to keep them busy until May, 1949, at least one manufacturer being booked up until the end of the year. Orders on hand include 14,000 dinner sets per month for export to the U.S.A. and deliveries are only from one to two months behind schedule.

Any ideas, such as were expressed a year or two ago, that such imports might meet customer resistance, on patriotic grounds, have now entirely gone "by the board." "Authentic reproductions of early English designs" is the description of a recent delivery of earthenware cup and saucer sets in blue willow pattern. The full size cup and saucer sold at 49 cents and is reported to have sold out the first day.

Although the arrangements for the control of production and sale by the Occupation Authorities may be well designed and working admirably now; and even assuming that it is possible to enforce the Labour Stan-

dards Law passed in 1947, establishing minimum wage-rates and abolishing child labour and other abuses; a long-term policy must appreciate to the full that Japan has unlimited supplies of suitable raw materials; an excellent geographical position for export to other Far Eastern markets, Australasia, India and Africa; and an unquestionable gift for exploiting modern production methods with great rapidity. It is inevitable, therefore, that Japan will endeavour, during the next decade, to regain the position she formerly held in the export markets.

The President of the U.K. Board of Trade, Mr. Harold Wilson, recently declared that H.M. Government would take steps to prevent "unfair competition"—but apart from the information that the Japanese Patent Office had been told to accept foreign applications for registration of design, to give protection against the pre-war practice in Japan of copying designs and selling them as British products, no indication was given as to what these steps would be.

At present there is a world-wide shortage of pottery. The opportunity is without a parallel in the history of the British pottery industry and to meet the task of Japanese competition many British potteries need to be re-conditioned, even partly rebuilt, and new machinery and plant are urgently required. Britain must produce well-designed but simply decorated ware at prices within the reach of the lower class markets and if she is to maintain a long-term lead in the quantity as well as the quality market, it may be necessary to set up large scale plants in this country for the manufacture of felspathic china. This is by no means an inferior product and many of the overseas markets imported it before the war in much larger quantities than English earthenware. Unless the cost of bone china is considerably reduced or, alternatively, English felspar china is made available, the likelihood that once again Japanese wares are available in huge quantities, suggests that the markets at present open to Great Britain will be quickly lost.

## THE CHANGING EPOCH IN THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

by J. A. Wolfe

FOR a hundred years the British maintained an uneasy peace in the North-West Frontier Province. A policy of alternative subsidies and military expeditions kept the tribal areas,\* which were never brought under direct British rule, from over-flowing into the plains. There was little development of the Province's natural resources and with the growth of population its limited products were soon exhausted.

As in the rest of the Indian sub-continent, the tendency in agricultural relations was for the land to fall gradually into the hands of the big landlords, and for the agricultural labourers to grow in numbers. Between the census of 1901 and 1931 the number of agricultural labourers increased from 15,000 to 59,000. If the 1941 census figures were available, no doubt a further increase would be indicated.

The war caused a temporary alleviation. Many thousands of Pathans joined the army; thousands more were engaged upon the various military and public works in the Province, such as fortifications, aerodromes, roads and camps, and the peasants were able to sell their surplus produce at relatively high prices in the military cantonments.

The peace brought collapse. Men employed on military and other works were discharged. There were no more troops to buy fruit and vegetables, and the Pathan soldiery was demobilised. With the Partition, came the return of many Pathans who had migrated to India in search of work. Some of the tribesmen went off to fight in Kashmir, which led to a temporary solution of the unemployment problem, but most of those have now returned home.

The Pakistan Government, by its very nature, and by its appeal to Pan-Islamic feeling, is in a better position to

treat with the tribesmen than were its British predecessors. On the other hand, the mass of the tribesmen, better equipped with arms and ammunition than they had been for many years, are in a more explosive state of mind than

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\* See "The Tribes of the Tirah" in our last issue.

they have been for some decades past. They need a solution to their economic ills, and if one does not appear soon, their reactions might well shake the stability of Pakistan.

Though the need for action is fully realised in Karachi, the general backwardness of the Dominion, the lack of administrative and industrial experience, the shortage of capital equipment and of capital itself and the drain of the war in Kashmir have prevented any rapid move forward. All that has been achieved so far is a survey of the situation, and preparations for future work.

There is considerable scope for development. Investigations have revealed the existence of minerals of economic value. Chromite has been discovered on the Datta Khel road in Waziristan. Coal deposits exist in the Hazara district, in the Cherat Hills and in several places in Kohat. In Waziristan there are also lignite deposits. Copper ore of good quality is found in the Mohmand country, in Chitral and in North Waziristan. There is iron ore in the Panjora river valley and south-east of Bannu, while lead and manganese are found in Chitral and Kohat. There is gold in the Hazara district, in the Khyber Agency and in the acid volcanic rocks north of Injan Dheria in Mardan. Gypsum has been discovered in various places in the Kohat district and in the Sherani country. There are a number of deposits of limestone of varying degrees of purity. Marble is found in the Khyber Agency and in Mardan district, slate deposits near Attock, and recent investigations have revealed fire-clay deposits in Dera Ismail Khan district. Chitral, which contains lead and manganese, has the distinction of being the only source of antimony in the Indian sub-continent. An economic exploitation of these minerals will only be possible as a result of further investigation, and of a considerable extension of the transport and power system.

The Province is not self-sufficient in food and large quantities have to be imported. Much of the crop area is dependent on the annual rainfall. There are many thousands of acres of good agricultural land at present unused, which could be brought under crops by the development of irrigation. The opening-up of new land is essential not only from the point of view of food production, but also of satisfying the land-hunger of the peasantry.

Following the All-Pakistan Industries Conference in December, 1947, the Provincial Government called a conference in April, 1948, attended by some fifty prominent industrialists. A policy of industrialisation was agreed upon, to be carried out over the next five years. Govern-

ment aid will be granted to certain industries where sufficient private capital is not available.

Little can be done in the way of industrialisation until adequate power is available. There is at present only one power plant in the Province—at Dargai, in the Malakand Agency, and its production of electrical energy is hardly sufficient for present needs. It has been decided, as an immediate step, to double the present capacity of the Dargai station and to give priority to the development of hydro-electric stations at Warsak, on the Kabul River and at Ghazi on the Indus.

The Warsak scheme will produce 15,000 kws of electrical energy and will cost 100 million rupees. It is hoped to complete it in four to five years, by when it will irrigate some 65,000 acres of fertile but at present uncultivated land in the Peshawar district and several thousand acres in the tribal areas. The power will be available for working the Mallagori marble quarries, coal deposits in the Cherat Hills and in Kohat, gypsum deposits in Kohat and the copper ore in the Mohmand country. Transmission lines will carry surplus power to the West Punjab. The project will also provide, by means of canals, direct navigation facilities between the Province and West Punjab. The Ghazi scheme is a more ambitious one, aiming at producing 200,000 kws of power. It will cost 250 million rupees and will take at least ten years to complete the mile-long barrage, the 35-mile power channel and the innumerable drainage crossings.

The irrigation resulting from the Warsak scheme may go far towards solving the food deficit problem of the Province. Recently approved by the Central Government Development Board is also an ambitious afforestation scheme for the tribal areas which, when under way, should cut down soil erosion, control flooding and ameliorate the conditions of the tribal peoples.

The time factor is an important one. So far only the preparatory work of the hydro-electric schemes has been completed. It will be some time before any appreciable number of workers can be employed on the schemes, and several years before beneficial results will be felt. The afforestation plan will no doubt solve many of the tribes people's problems, but so far not a single tree has been planted.

It may be from three to five years before the effects of these new schemes will be felt, and the big question is whether the difficult economic position of the Pathans will threaten the stability of the Province within that time.

## CEYLON'S RUBBER IN PERIL

by Austin de Silva

THE Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, in the course of his speech delivered at the first anniversary celebrations of the island's independence, declared that the natural rubber industry is threatened with "the menace of over-production" and that unless Ceylon can reduce her costs of production the industry in Ceylon would die a "slow death."

There is much speculation prevalent to-day as a result of this statement. Rubber circles here are wondering what

measures would be taken to prevent over-production and also reduce production costs. It is anticipated that some scheme of rubber control may be introduced. This question of a control scheme is expected to be discussed by the Rubber Study Group, on which rubber-producing and manufacturing countries are represented, when it meets in March.

Meanwhile, the question of a subsidy for Ceylon rubber, probably to the amount of 10 cents per lb., is to



be considered shortly by the government. The immediate grant of some help to the industry has become necessary owing to the present low prices in comparison with the costs of production.

To-day's ruling price for No. 1 sheet is in the neighbourhood of 53 cents and it is feared that if this price does not increase soon, nearly 50 per cent. of the island's rubber estates will be compelled to go out of production. Rubber circles are of the opinion that even if rubber were subsidised at 10 cents per pound, and the price per pound established at about 65 cents, there would yet be estates in Ceylon, particularly in the Matale district, which would not be able to produce at this cost.

Negotiations, therefore, are taking place between the Ceylon Government and the Government of the United Kingdom regarding the question of ensuring a better price for Ceylon's rubber. It has been pointed out by the Ceylon Government that the sporadic buying of Ceylon's rubber by the United Kingdom is detrimental to the interests of the industry. If production is not to be seriously affected as a result of uneconomic prices, it has been stressed that Britain must increase her consumption of Ceylon rubber.

At the same time the British Government is said to be studying the problem of the Ceylon rubber industry which is threatened with collapse and the consequent unemployment of about 200,000 people, unless a government subsidy is forthcoming very soon. The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Philip Noel Baker, has had discussions with the High Commissioner for Ceylon in the United Kingdom, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke and with representatives of the British Board of Trade.

Like the Prime Minister, the Minister of Commerce and Trade, Mr. H. W. Amarasuriya told a meeting of rubber planters at Galle that he is aware of the deteriorating position of the island's rubber industry and that the government, alive to the present precarious state of the industry, may shortly re-introduce a floor price or, alternatively, subsidise the industry. Mr. Amarasuriya is negotiating with rubber purchasing countries, especially the United States, to obtain a higher price for Ceylon's rubber.

The Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, convened a conference of local organisations interested in the rubber industry and discussed various aspects of the production of rubber under existing conditions, in particular the question of governmental assistance for re-planting and the supply of high-yielding planting material. It also considered the recommendations recently made by the Rubber Commission regarding the rehabilitation of uneconomic rubber lands. The Commission stated that nearly 175,000 acres of rubber in the island were uneconomic and recommended their gradual elimination by the substitution of other crops.

Ceylon producers also fear the competition offered by synthetic rubber. But, according to Sir Arthur du Cros, founder of the Dunlop Rubber Co., who recently passed through Colombo, synthetic rubber will not be able to compete on level terms with natural rubber. The crux of the whole question, he added, is the life of the tyres and tubes manufactured from synthetic rubber. Even if the life of a synthetic tyre or tube were twice as long as that of the natural product, it would not oust the latter but

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would compete on fairly level terms as the cost of synthetic production is about twice as high. To oust the natural product, synthetic rubber will have to be produced at much lower cost and the life of such products will have to be more than twice as long as that of natural rubber goods. Sir Arthur said that he was doubtful of this being achieved, at least in the near future.

But, according to Mr. F. D. Ascoli, Managing Director of the Dunlop Rubber Plantations, Ltd., Singapore, there is not much difference to-day in the cost of production between natural and synthetic rubber. In America, manufacturers use more than their quota of synthetic for their goods and seem to prefer it. Synthetic rubber will be a very keen competitor in the future and all producers will have to produce cheaper rubber if they want to exist.

There is no reason why Ceylon should expect a higher price for her rubber than anybody else, says Mr. Ascoli, unless the Ceylon product were of a very much higher quality than the rest, which it is not. To-day Ceylon's rubber is the most costly to produce, especially as her yields are poor. If the industry of any country tries boosting prices to keep bad estates in being, as in Ceylon, such a policy will do more harm than good. The only way to keep the industry alive is to do away with estates with high cost of production. Ceylon's salvation lies in the wholesale replanting of estates with high-yielding strains.

The outlook for rubber for the next few years is anything but pleasant as 100,000 tons more rubber are produced than consumed. With Indonesia and French

Indo-China also coming into the field, there will be about half a million tons of rubber surplus to requirements. The position is gloomy, but neither depressing nor desperate.

Referring to the possible restriction of production, Mr. Ascoli points out that owing to the existing disturbed political conditions in all the rubber producing countries, except Ceylon, there is at present no basis on which a control scheme, like the one which operated in pre-war days, can be introduced.

Prepared rubber exported from Ceylon during November last year, statistics for which are now available, amounted to 14,502,536 lbs., which is about 5,000,000 lbs. less than the quantity exported during the previous month. The amount of rubber exported during September was 17,261,335 lbs. and in October 19,229,268 lbs. Ceylon's

best customer for rubber is the United States of America. In September last, the U.S. took 10,855,018 lbs. of Ceylon rubber, in October 11,529,613 lbs., and in November 11,537,108 lbs.

On the other hand, imports of Ceylon rubber by the United Kingdom have been gradually decreasing. In September the United Kingdom imported 2,225,088 lbs., in October 1,698,676 lbs., and in November 1,907,159 lbs.

The rejection by the Ceylon Government of the offer by Russia to buy Ceylon's 1949 output of rubber in bulk has been a disappointment to the industry.\* There is now however, a prospect of Ceylon rubber finding a market in Yugoslavia, a hope held out by a trade delegation from that country now in Ceylon.

\* See "Ceylon and the U.S.S.R." in our Jan.-Feb., 1949, issue.

## ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN KOREA

by Robert T. Oliver

**A** CAREFUL resumé of Korea's economic condition indicates that it is still far from normal or adequate, but that encouraging progress is being made. Among basic factors in such a survey, the division of Korea along the 38th parallel is of fundamental importance. This division, splitting in two the industrial north and the agricultural south, has plunged Korea into a situation of depressed production and inflated currency that will require years to remedy. A second important factor is the influx into South Korea of about four million refugees during the past three years, thus multiplying the demand for food and other products and increasing unemployment. Still a third factor is the depletion of farm lands by war-time over-cropping, so that at present only 67 per cent. of the 1940-44 average of cultivated land is being farmed.

For emergency relief from September, 1945, through 1948, the United States spent some \$250 million for Korea, plus an estimated \$63.07 million worth of supplies. Korea, in turn, has granted certain properties to the United States and has settled a \$25 million Foreign Liquidation Commission Loan. E.C.A. inherited from the U.S. Army control over \$20.5 million for rehabilitation in fiscal 1948, and a \$95 million allotment for fiscal 1949.

Already Korean economy is beginning to stir from the depths into which it fell following the 38th parallel division. In the cotton textile industry, by July, 1948, about 300,000 spindles were in operation, as compared to 200,000 at the beginning of 1947. Current monthly production of rubber shoes, tyres, and other rubber products now exceeds the 1937 rate and doubles the 1947 monthly average. Rice production has risen steadily, till it exceeds the pre-war average by almost 5.5 million bushels. In fisheries the monthly catch is approaching the pre-war levels, but lack of processing facilities and shortage of boats impedes its progress. The average dietary level now averages about 1,650 calories a day, with indications that self-sufficiency in foodstuffs may be reached by 1950.

The condition of farmers in South Korea is relatively good. Sale on easy terms of former Japanese-owned lands to tenant-operators has raised the number of owner-operators by 126 per cent. over 1944 totals and decreased

the number of tenants by 56 per cent. By mid-1948, 448,513 former farm-tenants had become owners of the land they till. This gives them a stake in the future democratic freedom of their country enjoyed by no other Oriental people in comparable proportions.

The electric power situation of South Korea has been extremely bad since the U.S.S.R. arbitrarily cut off all power resources from the north following the United Nations-sponsored election. With an estimated power need of 200,000 kw. a month, South Korea produces something over 60,000 kw. monthly. Completion of an unfinished hydro-electric dam on the Sum Jin River, and construction of a thermal plant near the coal fields in the Samch'ok area, are recommended as available means of increasing electric power.

In mineral resources, Southern Korea during the war led the world in graphite production, with 103,000 tons a month in 1944. Its tungsten production, of 400 tons a month, provided Japan's chief supply. Anthracite and lignite coal production in 35 areas of South Korea to overcome the critical fuel shortage are being stimulated as the key to economic recovery. A present monthly production of 120 tons of tungsten provides the chief export from South Korea.

In over-all assessment of the economic conditions of South Korea, E.C.A. Administrator, Paul Hoffman, recently estimated that five years would be required to raise Korean economy to a level of self-sufficiency if the north remains divided from the south. If Russia can be persuaded to permit reunification of the country, this period would be greatly reduced. The total picture indicates a degree of success little anticipated by some of the gloomier prognosticators of Korea's future.

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# ECONOMIC NOTES

## JUTE MISSION

A mission, representing the Jute Control and the Board of Trade of the United Kingdom has just returned from a visit to Pakistan and India where they appointed Mr. J. C. Niven of Calcutta as a representative of the U.K. Jute Control in both dominions. The mission has now reported to the Board of Trade on the jute crop prospects for the coming year. They point out that last year's small crop was partly caused by bad weather and that, with average conditions this year combined with official pressure in India to increase the acreage, a higher production may reasonably be expected. The amount of jute reaching overseas buyers will depend to some extent upon the smooth working of the arrangements whereby Pakistan jute is shipped through Calcutta.

## NORWAY AND THE FAR EAST

Norway's trade with Asia in 1948 shows a considerable increase against 1947. The value of Norway's imports from that area increased by about 38 per cent, while the value of her exports to Asia rose by about 44 per cent. The development of her trade with various Asiatic countries is shown by the following table:

	all figures in million Norw. Kroner			
Total Asia	117.0	161.5	98.1	141.2
China	9.0	13.3	18.5	14.5
Hong Kong	0.1	0.03	16.9	23.3
Burma		0.6		4.3
India	17.6	17.0	29.2	47.8
Pakistan		2.1		8.7
Brit. Malaya	7.8	8.1	5.4	5.0
Ceylon	1.5	3.7	1.9	2.8
Siam	1.9	1.6	1.2	3.9
N.E.I.	2.0	19.1	1.2	1.9
Philippines	26.3	19.4	2.2	2.4
Iran	44.4	73.9	3.1	1.5

Norway's main exports to Asia consisted of cellulose, newsprint and paper, while her imports were mainly textiles and some raw materials. Norway's trade with Australia expanded to a considerable extent (exports rising by nearly 120 per cent., imports

by over 65 per cent). Exports consisted of cellulose, newsprint, paper and canned fish products.

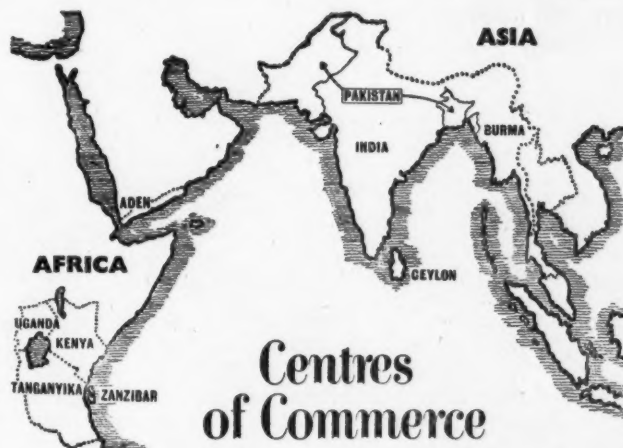
all figures in million  
Norw. Kroner

Australia	15.4	25.7	31.6	69.6
New Zealand	4.9	7.5	6.0	8.1

## EAST ASIATIC COMPANY

The 52nd annual report of The East Asiatic Company, Ltd., Copenhagen, for 1948 shows that for the third consecutive year the Company has paid a dividend of ten per cent, amounting to 5 million Kroner. During 1948 the Company's own fleet has increased to a total aggregating 200,423 tons gross register and 259,315 tons deadweight against 180,957 tons gross register and 235,556 tons deadweight in 1947. In addition to its own fleet the Company is interested through its ancillary and affiliated connections in the operations of 20 vessels under foreign flags. The Report points out that "the reciprocal trade between the various branches constitutes a large and growing part of the Company's business, the turnover of our oversea offices and of the Head Office itself making

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progress with satisfactory results . . ." The Company has participated in the growing trade with Japan and regular sailings to that country have been resumed. The Indian Offices, registered as an Indian concern, " are developing well," and the Hong Kong Branch "worked with satisfactory result."

#### BURMESE RICE

The rice-sown area in Burma is now estimated at 10,102,800 acres, but normal methods of cultivation cannot be adopted in some parts of disturbed districts. The total outturn is estimated at 5,314,500 tons of paddy, which is 120,600 tons less than the final production figure of last year. Taking into account the amount of rice normally required for internal consumption, Burmese sources estimate that 1,350 tons of rice and rice products will be available for export during the current year.

#### PAKISTAN'S BUDGET

Pakistan's Finance Minister, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, presenting the Dominion's Budget on February 28th said that revised estimates for the

year 1948-49 showed a surplus of Rs. 4.3 millions as against the Rs. 500,000 previously estimated. Total gross revenue for the year was estimated at Rs.956,400,000 as against the expected Rs.897,300,000. Total gross expenditure was Rs.952,100,000 compared with the original estimate of Rs.896,800,000. The Budget estimate for 1949-50 foresees a gross revenue of Rs.1,081,900,000 and gross expenditure of Rs.1,072,000,000. The paramount question of Pakistan-Indian relations is reflected in the Minister's speech in which he deplored that "the scale of our expenditure on Defence is disproportionately high and for a new country where every rupee ought to be spent on development and production in order to raise the standard of the common men exports on such a scale could only be justified by dire necessity. But for the unfortunate developments in our relations with India and the bellicose attitude of certain elements in India's public life, the history of both the Dominions during the last eighteen months would have been different . . ." The 1949-50 Budget estimates for Defence

Services amount to about 45 per cent. of the total gross expenditure.

#### PHILIPPINES IMPORT CONTROL LAW

The first import control legislation ever enacted in the Philippines has come into force on 1st January. The primary aim of this measure is to reduce the unfavourable balance of trade of the republic and to restrict imports to those types which will assist the quick rehabilitation of post-war Philippine economy. Under the law, none of 118 specified luxury and non-essential articles, ranging from motor-cars and jewellery to cosmetics and liquors, may be imported without permission of the Manila authorities. Import licences will be issued to qualified importers by allocation of quotas fixed on percentage reductions of their imports between July 1947 to June 1948. A reserve of not more than 20 per cent. of the quota for each article is set aside for allocation to new importers. Philippine consulates are now legalising consular invoices covering articles under import control only after being furnished with the licence number.

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